

ANANDRAO GAIKWAD
&
SAYAJIRAO GAIKWAD

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA
ENGLISH DOCUMENTS

VOLUME A

ANANDRAO GAIKWAD
LAST YEARS
SAYAJIRAO GAIKWAD
FIRST YEARS
(1818—1820)

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INTRODUCTION

I BOMBAY-BARODA RELATIONS

Under this heading are recorded miscellaneous happenings, some of them apparently trivial, others obviously important. The inclusion of the latter needs no justification; as regards the former, their insertion is made on the plea that even seemingly uneventful details often serve the purpose of providing informing sidelights, from which inferences may be drawn to elucidate the political aspect of the relations between Bombay and Baroda.

Baroda Navy: What matters is not so much Baroda's naval activities, it is true, on a very restricted scale; the whole fleet consisted of two pattemars. The significance of the documents is in the evidence which is afforded therein that the phrase *Baroda Navy* is a misnomer, and should read *Bombay Navy*.

The Gaikwads and Others: The documents collected under this heading refer to Anandrao, Fatesingrao, Gaikwad Pilgrims, Bhagvantrao, Kanhojirao Sayajirao, Malharrao of Kadi, Sitaram and Kamal-ud-din. The details recorded show the interest taken by the British authorities in all that concerned those persons.

Native States: The relations between Baroda and other Native States were under the control of the Bombay Governor and his Council. When the deposed Raja of Ali Mohan was anxious to secure the protection of the Bombay and the Baroda Governments, the Bombay Governor rejected his proposals on behalf of both the British authorities and the Baroda State.

Next, when the peace of the country was disturbed by the Chieftain of Jodiya, whose predatory raids were a source of great loss to Navanagar and indirectly a challenge to the Gaikwad, the British authorities took matters in hand and ordered the Gaikwad's forces to co-operate with them. The Jodiya Chieftain was defeated.

The influence, thus wielded by the British authorities, did not fail to impress other Native States; and when Malia stood in danger of being victimised by a neighbouring State, a request for protection was addressed, not to the Gaikwad, but to the British authorities.

Such a brotherly feeling on the part of the British authorities was sheer nonsense. From the documents published elsewhere in this series, and dealing with the murder of the Shastri, the punishment of the crime and the financial settlement between Baroda and Poona, it is as clear as daylight that the solicitude and perseverance displayed by Elphinstone unfailingly consisted in furthering the claims of the Peshwa and in ignoring the demands of the Gaikwad. It was only when the Peshwa started hostilities against the English, that the Gaikwad's claims were taken up and the Peshwa's demands ignored. These are facts, and no amount of special pleading can suppress them.

The British authorities first of all asked from Baroda the cession of the Gaikwad's rights in Kathiawar. As the Gaikwad State was not ready to make this sacrifice, a compromise was arrived at; and the British authorities were given by the Gaikwad the farm of Ahmadabad. The Gaikwad had also to consent to an increase of the subsidiary force. What is passing strange, is that in Bombay they found fault with the Supplemental Treaty, because it conferred on the English so much less than they were entitled to. Besides this, the Government objected to the 6th article in which it was stated that in future there should be no further demand for an exchange of territories. The Governor was of opinion that "the inference, deducible from such a clause, not only reflects on the moderation of the British Government and is disreputable to its character, but is directly at variance with the whole tenor of our conduct with the Gaikwad State." However the Calcutta Government approved of the treaty and highly praised James R. Carnac.

Ghasdana Question: According to the Supplemental Treaty fresh cessions of territory had been made to the British. In the newly ceded territories the Gaikwad claimed ghasdana. This was the name given by the Marathas to a special tax known to the Moguls as *khichri vera* (boiled-rice tax). It is defined in Wilson's *Glossary* as "grass and grain for horses or a contribution in lieu of it". Originally ghasdana stood for the right of free forage claimed by soldiers when passing through a district. Owing to the many abuses inherent in this practice, the free-forage right was in the due time changed into a contribution. The Gaikwad Administration claimed that, when a territory changed hands, the ghasdana remained the apanage of its former owner and had to be paid to him by

correct. Whether he was equally right in his estimate of Rhadabai, will probably forever remain a moot point; but his theory cannot simply be set aside as inept or as dishonourable to Rhadabai. Be this as it may, Rhadabai's relatives and James R. Carnac did not question the seriousness of her intent; and they exerted all their powers of persuasion to make her give up this design by suggesting to her to adopt Govindrao, the son of the late Ganpatrao of Sankheda. Rhadabai fell in with this proposal and immediately started opposing Sayajirao's accession to power, though she had been explicitly told by Carnac that Govindrao, who was then 8 years old, would not acquire any new title to the masnad by virtue of his being adopted.

Radhabai was supported by several influential persons in Baroda, who, in case Govindrao should come to power, would be in a position of fishing in troubled waters; for, as Govindrao was a mere child, these gentlemen would have acted on his behalf, and would not have been the losers thereby.

Besides Radhabai's adopted son, there came forward another rival claimant in the person of Balvantrao, Takhatabai's fifteen year old son. To discredit Sayajirao and to further Balvantrao's claim it was everywhere asserted that a certain Umia Shankar, the gumashta of Sayajirao's trusted servant, Dhakji Dadaji, had committed a foul murder. But this assertion was a mere allegation, and it was afterwards discovered that the murder had been perpetrated at Balvantrao's instigation.

In spite of this opposition against him, Sayajirao came to power, first as mutalik and afterwards as reigning Gaikwad.

Family Dissensions: After Sayajirao had succeeded to the masnad, dissensions arose between the new ruler and four widows, of whom three—Rhadabai among them—were relicts of Fatesingrao, and the remaining one was Takhatabai, who had long been Anandrao's favourite wife. With a little good will on either side these dissensions might have been settled in no time; as it was, they dragged on without anyone benefiting by the delay.

On the occasion of Govindrao's adoption by Rhadabai a nemnuk had been drawn up, in which it was stated that the adopted boy had no claim to the masnad. This was objected to by Radhabai and by the Bombay Government, but for different reasons. Radhabai contended that by virtue of the

adoption Govindrao had a better right to the masnad than Fatesingrao; whilst in Bombay it was pointed out that Govindrao, independently of his adoption, was the third legal claimant to the masnad. Radhabai refused to sign the nemnuk, and the Bombay Government were of opinion that the offending clause should be omitted, each party having their own reasons, as already stated. There was also a paper drawn up by Carnac, in which everything had been clearly stated, and in which the adopted son renounced all titles, derived from the adoption. Radhabai contended that she had never seen such a paper. For not bearing in mind this simple account of the relative rights of the interested parties, the discussion dragged on endlessly, till at last Elphinstone in 1820 clearly stated the essential points involved, and called upon Radhabai to subscribe to the conditions laid down in Carnac's paper. On her refusal to do so, the Bombay Governor withdrew the guarantee of protection promised to Radhabai.

Dhakji Dadaji: This incident has in it all the elements of a Gilbertian situation. Dhakji was appointed to succeed Gangadhar Shastri as Native Agent in Baroda, next he became Sayajirao's minister. At first he was praised as one of the greatest benefactors of the Baroda State, a man of great integrity and utter unselfishness, worthy of being rewarded. Shortly afterwards he was reviled as a dishonest rogue, solely bent on feathering his own nest and embezzling public money. It was decided that his presence at Baroda was objectionable, and that he had better go elsewhere. But time after time his departure was postponed on the plea that the settlement of his accounts had not yet been effected. Sayajirao himself did not seem to know his own mind. After insisting on Dhakji's immediate departure, he would consent to his temporary stay.

In this volume a full account is given of the Dhakji Dadaji episode up to the year 1820. These documents supply hitherto lacking information about a chapter of Baroda History, which has yet to be written, and only closes in 1843. R. Wallace's account in *The Guicowar and His Relations with the British Government* should not be accepted as gospel truth.

Sidelights on Kathiawar: In the documents published under the heading *Supplemental Treaty* it is made clearer than daylight that the British authorities were anxious to get the Gaikwad out of Kathiawar. When this could not be peacefully

effected, owing to the Gaikwads uncompromising opposition, a final arrangement was arrived at by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1820, by which Kathiawar, without ceasing to be the Gaikwad's, became to all intents and purposes British. "It is agreed that His Highness Sayajirao shall send no troops into the lands of the zamindars without the consent of the British authorities." By thus relinquishing the military control of that country the Gaikwad left the British authorities in possession.

The history of Kathiawar has still to be written. A good deal of reliable information may be gathered from the documents published in this collection. It is to be regretted that, owing to the transfer of the documents from Bombay to safer quarters, it has not been possible to complete the compilation of all the documents referring to Kathiawar. The few here published may, however, serve as an indication of the trend of British policy and of British aspirations and activities in their dealings with the Gaikwad and his rights over Kathiawar.

Financial Riddle: In the volumes previously published there is many a document about the financial rehabilitation of the Baroda State, saved from bankruptcy by the British authorities. A number of fresh documents are here adduced to testify to the progress achieved. The Baroda State had proved itself an exemplary borrower. Year after year substantial instalments were paid to reduce the enormous sums of money, loaned by the Bombay Government and the shroffs, and the interest accruing thereon. But for the unforeseen visitation of famine and pestilence, the Gaikwad debt would have been liquidated at the scheduled time. This unavoidable delay was a blessing in disguise; for there were those among the British authorities—Walker was one of them—who deprecated the full and complete payment of these loans; they were of opinion that Baroda's indebtedness was, as far as the Company was concerned, all to the good.

Anyhow the British claimed that they had good reason to be proud of their work. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Even Nepean, wrote to the Supreme Government at Calcutta on March 31, 1819: "We are persuaded Your Lordship will contemplate with feelings of satisfaction the prosperous condition to which the affairs of the Baroda State have been brought by the interference of the British Government. The

statement of the receipts and disbursements exhibits an excess in its resources beyond the expenditure, at the close of the current year, after discharging every encumbrance, of Rupees 6,33,469-2-74; and we beg to offer to Your Lordship our hearty congratulations on the completion of an object which cannot fail to be creditable to the conduct of the British Government."

A little more than a year later, on April 18, 1820, the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had succeeded Sir Even Nepean as Governor of Bombay, had the surprise of his life: "The latest information I possessed (Captain Carnac's letter dated February 14, 1819) gave reason to expect that there would be a surplus by the end of that year; but in fact the Gaikwad is in debt to an amount exceeding a crore of Rupees". This means that after 14 years (1806-1820) of financial reforms sponsored by the British authorities, the Gaikwad's indebtedness was greater than before. Let him explain . . . who can!

Elphinstone's Settlement: After Anandrao Gaikwad's death on October 2, 1819, the Commission, which under the Resident's presidentship had been appointed in 1806 (*The Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. VII, p. 234) to look after the country's welfare on account of the Gaikwad Ruler's mental incapacity, had no further *raison d'être*. It could not be continued on the plea that Sayajirao was also mentally incapacitated, for he was not. Its suppression was effected by Mountstuart Elphinstone; and it was solemnly described as the British withdrawal "from all control in the affairs of the Gaikwad." (Sir Even Nepean's letter of March 31, 1819). In reality it was not a withdrawal at all. Sayajirao was officially informed that all foreign affairs were to remain under the exclusive management of the British Government; that internal affairs were to be entirely in the hands of the Gaikwad Ruler, dependently on the bhandaris granted by the British Government to the bankers, to ministers and other individuals; that the Gaikwad was entitled to choose his own minister, after consulting the British Government; and that the British Government had the right to offer its advice, whenever any emergency should occur. (Elphinstone's letter dated April 3, 1820).

Bombay, St. Xavier's College, January 1945.

ANANDRAO GAIKWAD

(Last Years)

Bombay-Baroda Relations

No. 1. BARODA NAVY

THE documents recount the beginnings of the Baroda Navy, which consisted of two pattemars.

DOCUMENTS

Amreli, 10th October, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)

1812

Captain James McMurdo to James R. Carnac

The port of Suryah having lately become subject to the authority of the Gaikwad Government, Vithalrao Diwanji is desirous of adding to the satisfaction and security of merchants, who are willing to resort to that bandar, in possessing an armed pattemar, which by cruising in the Gulf would tend to the respectability of this new acquisition.

None of the ports on this coast are capable of fitting out a vessel adapted to this service. I am therefore induced to comply with his desire that I would address you on the subject, and request you to solicit the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to furnish him at a moderate price with a vessel of the class of the *Barbara* or *Dart*, pattemars in the service of the Hon'ble Company's marine; or should this be inconvenient, that his agent be permitted to procure a boat, and that she be furnished with 4 twelve-pounders and a proportion of ammunition from the Hon'ble Company's arsenal.

Baroda, 16th December, 1812. (1812, P. D. 390)

1812

James Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Dart Babington's dispatch of the 26th ultimo, and in reply to acquaint you that the *Dart* pattemar will be very acceptable to the Gaikwad Government.

I am accordingly requested to communicate the wishes of the Administration that this vessel may be ordered to proceed to Surya-bandar as completely equipped as possible, and that it could be manned by lascars who are inhabitants of Gogha. At the same time this Government hope to receive a table of the rates of pay to the crew as a guide for their proceedings hereafter.

As the Gaikwad Government have another port in Kathiawar, *Another* situated to the northward of Jafarabad, named Kodinar, it has *vessel*

occurred to the Administration that for the safety of the trade on the coast and other purposes a pattemar of the size and dimensions of the *Dart* might be eligibly employed. It is therefore hoped that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be pleased to give directions for building a vessel of this description on account of the Gaikwad Government, and on being completed (which the Secretary in the Marine Department states to be practicable in the course of four months) that it may also be directed to proceed to Suryabandar and wait the orders of Vithalrao Diwanji, the sarsubah of Kathiawar.

Bombay orders.

Sanctioned Resolved that the *Dart* pattemar be transferred to the Gaikwad Government and manned in the manner required by the Administration, the Secretary in the marine Department being directed to forward to the Resident at Baroda a table of the rates of pay to the crew and every other information necessary for the guidance of the Gaikwad Government on the occasion.

Ordered also that another pattemar of the size and dimensions of the *Dart* be built on account of the Gaikwad Government; and on being completed, which it is expected she will be in the course of two-months, she is to be directed to proceed to Suryabandar and await the orders of the sarsubah of Kathiawar.

1813 *Bombay, 14th January, 1813 (1813, P.D. 392)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Barbara I have the honour to request you will be pleased to acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the *Barbara* pattemar appears suited to the purposes of the Gaikwad Government.

Bombay resolution.

Orders Resolved that the pattemar *Barbara* be transferred to the Gaikwad Government.

1813 *Baroda, 5th April, 1813 (1813 P.D. 396)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Boats paid In acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Secretary Babington's letter enclosing a statement of the amount chargeable to the Gaikwad Government for the equipment and value of the *Dart* and *Barbara*, pattemars, amounting to the sum of Rupees 14,429-2-13, I have now the honour to transmit two bills of exchange drawn by Ratanji Maneckchand on the firm of Ishwarchand Atmaram, payable to the bearer in 31 days for the said sum.

1813 *Baroda 14th September, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

British command In the interview with Vithalrao Diwanji, sarsubah of Kathiawar, previous to his departure, he expressed to me his acknowledgments for the two vessels furnished by our Government. The advantages, which he expected to derive from them, have not however been so

extensive as he had reason to hope for, not on account of their being no employment for these vessels, but from the apathy and ignorance of the native tindals at present in command of them. By their want of attention the vessels have been neglected, and these men are not sufficiently versed in the navigation of the Gulf or qualified as able seamen to render those services that might be useful to the trade at sea and the commerce of the Gaikwad ports.

The Diwanji on this account expressed a desire (in concurrence with the wishes of Fatesing) that a European officer might be attached to the command of these vessels on a salary which this Government would happily grant.

Should the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council concur in the wishes of the Diwanji, it occurs to me to mention that the permanent employment of Mr. Grant of the Bombay Marine (the gentleman alluded to) can be made as conducive to our interests as to those of the Gaikwad. I had occasion during my circuit in Kathiawar to mention his peculiar acquaintance with the Gulf of Cutch; and from that cause, combined with his uniform vigilance, the seizure of Raja Nakwa was effected. I may also be added that Mr. Grant might be employed in the control of our small vessels against the pirates, consistent with the duties he may have to perform in the Gaikwad service.

Bombay, 27th September, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)

1813

Governor's minute.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council has acceded to his proposition of allowing Lieutenant Grant to take the command of one of the boats furnished to the Gaikwad Government for the present; and that it will be left to him to arrange with the Baroda Government the extent of the allowances to be made to that officer.

NO. 2. GAIKWADS AND OTHERS

The documents contain information about Anandrao, Fatesingrao, Gaikwad Pilgrims, Bhagvantrao, Kanhojirao, Sayyajirao, Malharrao of Kadi, Sitaram and Kamal-ud-din.

NO. 1. ANANDRAO

The Gaikwad ruler continued to be a useful figure-head.

DOCUMENTS

Fort William, 18th June, 1817 (1817, P. D. 437)

1817

The Marquis of Hastings to Anandrao Gaikwad.

I have the honour to inform Your Highness that I propose to *Letter* embark from Fort William on the 26th instant, and that I expect to be absent from the Presidency about ten months. Considering you to

be amongst the most faithful friends and allies of the British Government, I have deemed it proper to make this communication of my intentions for your information.

1817 *Baroda, 28th August, 1817 (1817, P. D. 437)*
Anandrao Gaikwad to the Marquis of Hastings.

Congratulations Your kind letter replete with gratification, dated the 18th of the month of June, 1817 of Christ, agreeing with the 2nd of Shaban, 1232 Hijri, was received by me from the Resident at Baroda, Captain James Rivett Carnac, on the 13th Ramzan, and the contents of it filled my friendly heart with joy.

The intelligence of Your Excellency's intention of embarking to proceed to the westward in the commencement of the next month and Your Excellency's further exaltation to dignity by the King of England, may God preserve his reign and kingdom, whose grandeur is like that of Jam, that is the conferring by him on you of the high title of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, rejoiced my heart, which poured forth its congratulations on the happy event. May God continue to increase Your Excellency's dignity. It is hoped from Your Excellency's kindness that we shall be honoured with frequent accounts of your health and prosperity.

NO. 2 FATESING

Fatesing, the heir apparent to the gadi, proved at times a source of anxiety to the British authorities.

DOCUMENTS

1816 *Baroda, 27th July, 1816 (1816, S. D. 296)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Fatesing's lapse Several occasions have lately occurred on which it has been requisite for me to bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council an unwillingness on the part of Fatesing to meet the wishes of the British Government.

The loss of Gangadhar Shastri was not more severely felt by Fatesing in his public capacity than it was unfortunate for him in his private life. . . The Shastri was no sooner gone than the check, which he had placed on his natural inclinations, was removed; and yielding himself up to low pleasures he cultivated the friendship and society of some notorious for dissolute principles.

It was to no purpose that I frequently cautioned Fatesing of the evils of keeping bad company. His companions were always ready to administer to his dissipation; and his promises of amendment were forgotten as soon as he was furnished with a new means of gratifying his propensities. Among those who surrounded him was Bechar Mankidas, a shroff who belongs to the house of Samal Bechar. This man possesses some wealth obtained by artifices of cunning and

intrigue. The natural inclinations of Fatesing had no sooner begun to be known than Bechar presented himself and gained an easy access to his intimacy and confidence.

The circumstance of Fatesing being in want of money for his extravagant pursuits, and of Bechar having it to lend, soon cemented a union of their interests, which, if it had not been broken, would have involved the Government in serious difficulties and have affected the prosperity of the whole country to compensate for the sums he borrowed.

During these proceedings I used every argument likely to make His Highness alter his conduct. It was also my wish to see how far it would be practicable for Dhakji Dadaji to bring him to a proper sense of his duty and dignity.

When Dhakji arrived at Baroda, Fatesing was on the eve of departure to a place of pilgrimage on the Narbada, and it was not till after his return that an opportunity offered of Dhakji being carried to the Darbar.

During the interval Fatesing was taught to consider Dhakji as a man who would be to him another Shastri, and returned to Baroda greatly prepossessed against him. He delayed from day to day the ceremony of his presentation, and obliged me at length to tell him that I could admit of no further trifling, and that he must see the new Native Agent. The next day I received a message through Vithoba Bhau that he was resolved not to receive Dhakji. When I waited on His Highness to obtain an explanation of his extraordinary message, he denied having sent it; and as I was very desirous to give a fair trial to Dhakji to acquire an influence over Fatesing, I overlooked this duplicity, and Dhakji was introduced at the Darbar the following day.

At the interview, above adverted to, I told Fatesing in the most express terms that I could not permit Bechar any longer to be employed by him in the management of Government concerns; that I had with difficulty prevailed on a most respectable native of Bombay [Dhakji] to be the channel of communication between us.

Bechar, seeing the ruin of his own power on the acquisition of influence by Dhakji, used every means he could devise to thwart Dhakji's success. Fatesing was however intimidated enough not to employ Bechar openly as before, but acted entirely by his advice given to him at interviews during the night. No one, connected with the Administration, was permitted to hold intercourse with Dhakji without being subject to the displeasure of Fatesing; and, instead of commencing on business, every obstacle was presented to the smallest information being obtained by the agent. The favourite wife of the Raja also, having occasion on the part of herself and His Highness to represent to me the ill-treatment he received from Fatesing in his not attending to their complaints respecting the misbehaviour of the public servants of the household, every means was used to prevent her from establishing a direct intercourse between the

Palace and the Residency. When I remonstrated on this unfriendly conduct, Fatesing told me that he wished to retire for the present from the administration of affairs. I represented to him the folly of such a step on his own account; but informed him that, if he were serious, the British Government would not oppose his secession.

12. This conversation had some weight with Fatesing, but it was only for the moment. From next day he acted in a manner calculated to suspect at once the concerns of the Government. He denied to the soukars, who had made the pecuniary advances to the mission at Poona on the faith of the Company's Government, that they were entitled to demand its interference for the payment of their claims. The total want of confidence of the moneyed men in His Highness induced them to consider, after a declaration so unwarrantable, whether advances of any description should be made, until the point regarding the Poona loan was satisfactorily decided. This agitation somewhat subsided when I told them that, as the mission was undertaken by desire of the British Government and under its guarantee, it followed from the circumstances of this Government that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would see them eventually indemnified in all just demands on that concern. This declaration was demanded to prevent the affairs of the State from falling into immediate confusion. This indiscretion of Fatesing could not have produced worse effects than at the present moment, when the heavy claims of the Peshwa are under consideration and can only be satisfied by contracting a loan from the soukars in the city.

13. In addition to the extraordinary fact above related, His Highness, contrary to the practice operating since the introduction of the reforms, directed that I should only see the drafts on the exchequer and not the details for which they were granted, or the people in whose favour the bills were drawn. His object was to defeat any inquiry into the propriety of the drafts, or whether they were actually for any purposes of Government. I of course resisted a measure which struck at the root of my superintendence of the affairs of this Government.

14. Fatesing's conduct in regard to the reduction of troops, rendered necessary by the loss of the Ahmadabad farm, is no less subject to great censure. Though fully aware of the inability of his Government to support an unnecessary establishment, he evaded attending to my earnest representations on this subject for upwards of ten months. And now, when he has had no excuse to bring forward that could produce my forbearance, he has not reduced the number of the troops, but curtailed their pay to the amount of the required retrenchment.

If Fatesing from the effect of evil counsel could be induced to act in so unsatisfactory manner on matters of the first importance, it will not surprise the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to learn that he received bribes to a considerable amount, and had nearly concluded, before I heard of his proceedings, an arrangement for a sum of money with one of the tributaries, which would have rendered nugatory a

settlement guaranteed by the British Government. The sums of money of any consequence which he thus obtained, I have been unable to recover, and probably the greatest part is dissipated.

I have the honour to acquaint you that Bechar has been sent away from Baroda, and that, to all appearances, now the concerns of the Government are in a fair train of amelioration; but my hopes of the full and friendly co-operation of Fatesing in the discharge of his duties are very faint.

The nature and object of Fatesing's appointments to the office of mutalik are fully detailed in my predecessor's dispatches dated the 8th and 24th May, 1807. His engagements to the Company on his investiture are also submitted in those addresses. He has engaged in that document to conduct himself to the advantages of the Gaikwad Government and according to the counsels and advice of the Resident. It is also pointedly stated that public business of importance shall be conducted at the Residency of His Highness the Raja. These are the chief obligations to which he subscribed on his accession to the office of mutalik.

The details given in this letter are decisive in fixing on Fatesing an unqualified departure from the letter and spirit of his engagements, when appointed to his present situation. He has lately neither transacted business at the Palace, nor shown any particular regard to the Raja. He has not attended to the counsels of the Resident, nor administered to the interests of the Gaikwad Government. In fact he has in all these respects acted in direct contradiction to his duty, having omitted to conduct public affairs at the Palace or indeed with any regularity at his own Residence, rejected the services of the established Administration in favour of an obscure individual, clandestinely added fresh encumbrances on the Government, indulged in a course of corruption to the injury of the revenues of the State, and instead of acting by the advice of the Resident, has unequivocally avoided it, and intimidated the servants of Government into treating that authority with improper distance.

Government will decide how far it is incumbent on us to tolerate this negligence and disrespect, and whether it might not be expedient to allow Fatesing to be gratified in his desire of seceding from the administration. I would however recommend a longer trial. Being now deprived of the advice and pecuniary assistance of Bechar Mankidas, it may be possible with great vigilance to retain him in the management without serious injury to the interest of the Gaikwad Government. His birth entitles him to this situation, and it is probably proper that he should fill it until he may become absolutely incapable of conducting its duties.

Bombay resolution.

The Governor-in-Council is of opinion that little expectation can be entertained of the Gaikwad State deriving any advantage from His Highness's retaining the management of public affairs; and that it therefore becomes a question whether he should be continued in the exercise of the authority, which the Governor-in-Council is inclined to *Ultimatum*

think will be inexpedient. The Governor-in-Council will not however object to the further trial; but he is to be informed that, unless he adopts a very different line of conduct from what he has lately practised, his cessation from public business will be a desirable measure, and that the affairs of the Gaikwad State will be placed in other hands.

1816 *Baroda, 21st October, 1816 (1816, S. & P. D. 297)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Sally-port incident In consequence of the information, contained in the enclosure, I applied to His Highness Fatesing to afford me satisfaction for the insult offered to our troops by the people of His Highness the Raja, informed him that I should not be satisfied until the men, who had behaved so improperly, were placed at my disposal, the sally-port abandoned by the others who had taken post at it, and the gate itself blocked up with masonry.

His Highness did not favour me with so quick a reply as I was inclined to wish; and I immediately proceeded to the palace, where I desired an interview with the Raja, and sent to Fatesing to request his presence. Fatesing was extremely dilatory in complying with my request, and evaded no less than three times to attend my summons. During the interval of the message to Fatesing, I saw the Raja and also communicated with him through agents. The Raja declared he could not give the redress I required, and he persisted in his obstinacy.

Fatesing was perhaps not aware of the serious light in which I considered the conduct of his brother's people, and probably could not conceive that an insult, offered to a British officer and a guard in doing their duty by maintaining a post committed to their charge, was of a magnitude to call for the satisfaction demanded. When he was thoroughly convinced however of my determination not to go away, without obtaining, what I had demanded, by my own means, if he did not choose to perform his duty, he came to the palace.

Fatesing argued with me on the undelicacy of his forcing his elder brother, the Raja of the country, to countermand the positive orders he had given in the morning; and at first refused to see his brother. I overcame his scruples of delicacy, and he went to the Raja. On his return, he acquainted me that the Raja had been prevailed on to permit him to comply with my wishes; which, he said, being the only obstacle to his acting before, he would now satisfy me immediately and pledged his word to abide by his promise.

The conduct of Lieut. Walker in restraining his men from coming to extremities in their eagerness to revenge the insults that were offered to them and their officer, deserves my approbation. If his prudence had been lost to him on such an occasion, he could scarcely have been blamed. He endured what the feelings of few men could have permitted with impunity, supported by soldiers eager to assist him.

Fatesing did not fulfill his promise. The Raja had changed his mind, and would not permit the surrender of the bargirs to Amin

Saheb, who had brought his men to carry out the measures I had required into effect. A reference was made to me whether Amin should fire on the men who would not leave the sally-port, and proceed forcibly to obtain possession of the two men who had been the most insolent. It had been hinted to me that the bargirs were intoxicated; and availing myself of this excuse, I replied that it would not be necessary to proceed to coercive measures till the following morning, when they would probably come to a sense of their situation and yield without resistance.

My indulgence was misappreciated by Fatesing, who seemed anxious the next day (the 25th) that I should forget the business altogether. I replied that I expected he would give me the satisfaction I had demanded; and that, if it was not to be obtained by persuasion, he ought to order Amin Saheb to proceed to coercion. His Highness seemed inclined to do nothing, and I sent Mr. Williams to ask him if he intended to perform his promise or not, and to assure him that, if he did not, I should vindicate the honour of the troops myself.

The evening of the 25th passed away without any step having been taken further than repeated messages on my part to urge Fatesing to perform his promise. At 8 P.M. however I was informed by Fatesing through Vithalrao Bhau and Vithalrao Diwanji that the Raja had given ammunition to his people, and that something serious might occur in consequence. In case of any disturbance I deemed it advisable to request Col. East to order a battalion to be held in readiness to move into town at a moment's warning. Nothing took place during the night, and I proceeded at sunrise next morning (the 26th) to the house of Fatesing, determined not to leave it till I had effected a settlement by his means, or found it requisite to do so by my own.

10. Fatesing strenuously opposed my arguments by saying he could not act so unfeelingly towards his brother as to seize his household servants. It was at length proposed that the Raja should be propitiated by a present. This present was however declined, but other circumstances had the desired effect; and I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of Government that the Raja ordered the surrender of the bargirs who had acted under his orders in insulting the guard and the secession of those on the post, and agreed to permit the sally-port to be blocked up. The men were delivered over to me in public Darbar, and I requested His Highness Fatesing to confine them till I should determine with him on the measure of their punishment. The objects of Government have been gained, it may be consistent with the humanity and power of Government (particularly as no blood has been shed) to make the punishment of these men as slight as possible.

No. 1 Letter from Lieutenant Walker to Captain W. Miles.

I have the honour to report to you, agreeable to the directions of *Sally-port* the Resident, the circumstance which took place at the sally-port this *incident* morning; it was as follows:

About 9 o'clock this morning, the naik, placed at the sally-port, reported to me that His Highness the Raja had sent his people to open the same, and that they were proceeding to take the wall down, although the sentry told them that it was against the orders of the Darbar. I immediately went to the guard; but previous to my reaching it, the Raja sent for me back, when he told me that he was determined to open the same, and desired me to take the guard off. I in reply told him in a respectful way that it was not in my power to comply with his wishes, as the men were placed there by Government; and that I could not take them off without Captain Carnac's permission; and that I would write him directly on the subject; but to this I received no other reply than that they must be ordered away. I then made him no answer, but went down to the guard and desired the naik to put a stop to their opening it. Shortly after, and before I quitted, the Raja had sent several armed men, who began to be very insolent to me and the sepoys; on which I sent an orderly for a native officer and twelve men, and on their arrival gave over charge to the jamadar and went to write you an account of the proceedings.

I returned as soon as possible again, learning from the native officer [*that*] the Raja's armed men were much increased and using very insulting language to our men. On my arrival near the guard, the Raja's men made many attempts to stop me, and threatened to use force, but were deterred by the men I had with me. When I came to the gate, I used all the arguments I could to prevent their carrying the Raja's orders into execution, and also explained to them the directions given me by Government respecting the gate, but all to no purpose. I then ordered the sepoys to form before the gate, on which the bargirs began a scuffle, and many abusing the Resident, myself and every person concerned in preventing the opening the gate, and at last proceeded to such extremities of outrageous insult to the men that I could scarcely refrain them from charging them. Two of bargirs drew their swords and threatened to cut me down, but were prevented by some of the Raja's people, who were more temperate. I then withdrew my men, finding that it was impossible to do anything without bloodshed.

No. 2. Report from Captain Williams to James R. Carnac.

Bullying At a conference with His Highness Fatesing, present Withoba Bhau
Fatesing the Diwan, Mr. Williams 1st Assistant to the Resident, Dhakji Dadaji and His Highness's cousin.

I opened the conference by informing His Highness that I was deputed by Captain Carnac merely to ascertain from His Highness personally whether he had taken any steps towards carrying into effect the promise he had made to seize the three bargirs who had drawn their swords on the officer and guard at the palace, and [*to*] immediately deliver them up to Captain Carnac, [*to*] drive away from the gate the bargirs who might still remain there, the gate-way to be built up, and [*to*] prohibit Lakhmidas from having access to the palace. His Highness replied that he had not yet been able to perform his promise, but that he hoped in four days at farthest

to give Captain Carnac complete satisfaction. I then told His Highness that the object of my visit to him was explicitly to state that Captain Carnac would, if His Highness felt himself averse or unequal to the fulfilment of the measures he had undertaken, immediately take upon himself to carry them into effect.

His Highness in reply said that the trusted Captain Carnac would consider the light in which his [Fatesing's] conduct would be viewed by the people, in interfering with the dependants of His brother the Raja in so abrupt and decided a manner; and that the Raja himself would be highly displeased and indignant. I assured His Highness that his [Fatesing's] conduct would not be looked upon in the light contemplated by him, that on the contrary he would be considered as doing his duty, as the executive minister of his brother, in punishing those scoundrels, and that he owed it to his own honour, as a prince in alliance with us, severely and instantly to punish those who so wantonly insulted a British officer. That it was known to all Baroda that His Highness's brother, the Raja, never continued in the same mind an hour together; that the gift of a pearl necklace or golden bangle would induce him to give up not only the three bargirs but the whole of them, were they demanded. To this His Highness gave no reply save by a smile, and said something in a low tone of voice to his relation; and I concluded by demanding an explicit answer whether His Highness would or would not act.

At this period of our interview His Highness retired to the varanda with the Bhau and Dhakji; and after an interval of about half an hour I was requested to join His Highness, when he told me that he had given orders to the Bhau to carry all Captain Carnac's wishes into effect immediately. This appeared so extraordinary to me after his late declaration, that being accustomed to His Highness's want of sincerity, I asked His Highness if he really had given such an order, and whether he intended it should be obeyed. He hesitated, and said if not immediately in the course of the night. I pressed His Highness to give me a direct answer, without success. He then requested me as a personal favour to intercede with Captain Carnac to allow him his own time to apprehend those men, I then, seeing that I was not likely to meet with satisfactory answer, told His Highness that I was sorry that I could not comply with his request; that this was not a private business between His Highness, Captain Carnac and myself, but a national affair; and that as publicly the reparation ought to be. After some further conversation on this subject, the same as the foregoing, His Highness said he had another objection, which was the disgrace of having a disturbance in the palace, and that many lives would be lost. I said that there could have been no chance of a disturbance, had His Highness acted with decision; and that it was not of the slightest importance if all those scoundrels were put to death; and that I did not apprehend any such serious resistance; that these were people of no character or importance in the State; and I took my leave of His Highness, telling him that I expected, on my return with such an unsatisfactory answer, that Captain Carnac would immediately take measures to effect those

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I returned as soon as possible again, learning from the native officer [*that*] the Raja's armed men were much increased and using very insulting language to our men. On my arrival near the guard, the Raja's men made many attempts to stop me, and threatened to use force, but were deterred by the men I had with me. When I came to the gate, I used all the arguments I could to prevent their carrying the Raja's orders into execution, and also explained to them the directions given me by Government respecting the gate, but all to no purpose. I then ordered the sepoys to form before the gate, on which the bargirs began a scuffle, and many abusing the Resident, myself and every person concerned in preventing the opening the gate, and at last proceeded to such extremities of outrageous insult to the men that I could scarcely refrain them from charging them. Two of bargirs drew their swords and threatened to cut me down, but were prevented by some of the Raja's people, who were more temperate. I then withdrew my men, finding that it was impossible to do anything without bloodshed.

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His Highness in reply said that the trusted Captain Carnac would consider the light in which his [Fatesing's] conduct would be viewed by the people, in interfering with the dependants of His brother the Rāja in so abrupt and decided a manner; and that the Rāja himself would be highly displeased and indignant. I assured His Highness that his [Fatesing's] conduct would not be looked upon in the light contemplated by him, that on the contrary he would be considered as doing his duty, as the executive minister of his brother, in punishing those scoundrels, and that he owed it to his own honour, as a prince in alliance with us, severely and instantly to punish those who so wantonly insulted a British officer. That it was known to all Baroda that His Highness's brother, the Rāja, never continued in the same mind an hour together; that the gift of a pearl necklace, or golden bangle would induce him to give up not only the three bargirs but the whole of them, were they demanded. To this His Highness gave no reply save by a smile, and said something in a low tone of voice to his relation; and I concluded by demanding an explicit answer whether His Highness would or would not act.

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objects which His Highness had declared himself unwilling to undertake.

No. 2. Remark in the Diary.

Approval Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council cannot too highly approve of the propriety of his proceedings in consequence of the conduct of His Highness the Raja's people. The Governor-in-Council desires that he will intimate to His Highness Fatesing the extreme regret felt by this Government at the reluctance he has manifested in affording the satisfaction so very properly demanded by the Resident on this occasion; that, had this been a solitary instance of His Highness's unfriendly disposition, it might hence make a less impression, were it not connected with other parts of His Highness's conduct; and that the Governor-in-Council cannot but view the change it has recently witnessed in His Highness with great concern, as it must tend to weaken that confidence which ought to exist between States whose interests are so intimately connected.

1817 *Bombay, 21st April, 1817 (1817, P. D. 435)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Request Considering that it would be pleasing to His Highness Fatesing to receive on my return to Baroda a present, which he would value, I submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council that I may be authorised to disburse 4,500 Rupees for that purpose. I feel less hesitation in making the suggestion under the circumstance of the receipt of presents during the last year from the Gaikwad Government, exceeding those which have been made from the Residency.

No. 3. GAIKWAD PILGRIMS

The documents prove how widespread British influence was in India.

DOCUMENTS

1816 *Baroda 31st December, 1816 (1817, P. D. 434)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Pilgrimage [I am] submitting the enclosed copy of a letter to the Resident with Daulatrao Sindia, which, I trust, will meet the approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Close, Resident with Daulatrao Sindia, dated Baroda 31st December, 1816.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the widow of the late Gaikwad Raja Govindrao and the mother of His Highness Fatesingrao propose in the ensuing month of Phalgun to proceed to Benares with the remains of Govindrao. As these personages and their suites will pass through the territories of Daulatrao Scindia and the camp of His Highness at Gwalior, I am requested by this Government to intercede

with you to obtain permission for a free passage and such protection as may be usual to persons of the rank of the parties. It is proposed that the ladies above mentioned do not leave Baroda, until I may be honoured with your answer. In the meanwhile I shall submit a copy of this letter for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Fort William, 22nd February, 1817 (1817, P. D. 435)

1817

John Adam to Francis Warden.

2. His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council requests *Protection* that Fatesing may be assured that every suitable degree of attention and hospitality will be manifested by the local British authorities on the arrival of the personages, so nearly related to His Highness, within the Hon'ble Company's dominions, and every facility and indulgence will be offered to them at the places of Hindu worship, which they propose to visit.

Baroda, 24th March, 1817 (1817, P. D. 430)

1817

J. Williams, Assistant in charge, to Francis Warden.

I do myself the honour to submit for the approval of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Resident at Sindia's Court.

Letter from J. Williams to Captain Close, Resident at Sindia's Camp.

Referring to your letter to the address of Captain Carnac on the *Delay* subject of the ladies of the Gaikwad family proceeding via Sindia's camp to Benares, and requesting to be informed of the time of their departure from Baroda, I have the honour to advise you that His Highness Fatesing has prevailed on the Bais to defer their journey until after the Dasara, on account of the present unsettled state of the countries through which they must necessarily pass on their way to Benares, and the difficulties they would experience from moving *during the hot months.*

Baroda, 17th February, 1819 (1819, P. D. 462)

1819

J. R. Carnac to Acting Chief Secretary.

From the general tranquillity which prevails throughout India, *Renewed request* and the great anxiety manifested by the widow of the late Raja and the mother of his Highness the late Fatesingrao Gaikwad to proceed on a pilgrimage to Benares and several other places of Hindu worship within the territories of the Hon'ble Company, I am induced at the earnest solicitation of His Highness Sayajirao to request that the circumstances may be brought to the notice of the Most Noble the Governor-General, whose sanction was obtained in the month of February 1817.

Fort William, 3rd April, 1819 (1819, P. D. 466)

1819

Charles T. Metcalfe to Newnham.

The Governor-General-in-Council willingly renews the sanction to *Approval* the pilgrimage of Her Highness and her suite, conveyed in Mr. Adam's despatch to Mr. Warden, dated the 22nd February, 1817.

1820 *Baroda, 8th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 484)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Letter I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter from Captain Inglis, dated the 26th ultimo, enclosing copy of one he had addressed to the Supreme Government.

Letter from W. Inglis to C. I. Metcalfe, dated Camp at Muttra, 26th April, 1820.

Pilgrims Since I had last the honour to address you from Allahabad, Her Highness and followers have visited Ajodhya, Misrikh, Nimkhar, Belur, Gokul, and arrived at Muttra on the 23rd instant.

The different ceremonies they will have to go through here, will detain them till the 22nd of next month, when I most respectfully beg to state for the information of the most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council the intention of this lady and kafila to quit Muttra on their return to Gujarat via Ujjain.

I am requested to offer His Lordship-in-Council her sincere acknowledgements for the exemption granted in her favour and the peaceable manner she and her followers have been permitted to visit the different places of Hindu resort in the territories of the Hon'ble Company and its allies.

1820 *Baroda, 8th September, 1820 (1820, P. D. 491)*

C. Norris, Acting Resident, to Francis Warden.

Gahenabai's request I beg that you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Her Highness Gahenabai Gaikwad has requested permission to make Captain Inglis a present of Rupees 1,000 (one thousand) as a mark of the high sense which she entertains of his kindness and attention to herself and her attendants during her late pilgrimage to Benares.

Minutes, 21st September, 1820.

Refusal Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the Act of Parliament precludes the Governor-in-Council from assenting to the proposed present being made to Captain Inglis, which Mr. Norris is to communicate to Her Highness Gahenabai Gaikwad, observing that the Governor-in-Council concludes the application was made without the knowledge of Captain Inglis.

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No. 4. BHAGVANTRAO

1815 *Baroda, 12th December, 1815 (1815, P. D. 425)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Dead His Highness Fatesing informed me that he had received accounts of Bhagvantrao Gaikwad, who was lately sent a prisoner to Bombay, being in a dangerous state of health. He added that, if I would consent to the prisoner's being brought to Baroda under these circumstances, it would be an act very grateful to the Gaikwad

family, as the necessary funeral ceremonies could then be performed. I assented to His Highness's wishes on condition that in the event of Bhagvantrao's recovery, he should be sent to Ranpur, the place allotted for his confinement. He died however in the course of last night.

No. 5. KANHOJIRAO

Baroda, 1st May, 1816 (1816, P. D. 429)

1816

James R. Carnac to F. Warden.

I have the honour to enclose a letter to the address of Kanhojirao Gaikwad from his mother, apprising him of the recent marriage of his daughter. I am requested by this Government to solicit the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to have the letter safely forwarded to Poonamalee near Madras.

Minutes, 10th May.

The letter to the address of Kanhojirao Gaikwad was, on receipt, forwarded to Madras in compliance with the preceding request.

No. 6. SAYAJIRAO

The documents refer to events taking place after Anandrao's demise, when Sayajirao had become the ruling Gaikwad.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 12th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 484)

1820

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report the marriage of His Highness Sayajirao Sayaji to Girjabai, the daughter of Manajirao Shirke of the village of Khanwad in the vicinity of Satara, a family of some rank among the Marathas, and who consider the alliance with the Gaikwad as not in any way adding to their reputation, but their necessities have compelled them. I made the usual presents and congratulations on the part of the British Government on this auspicious occasion.

Baroda, 25th June, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487).

1820

Charles Norris, Acting Resident at Baroda, to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Honourable the Governor-in Council, the birth this morning of a daughter to His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad by his first consort, Chimnabai.

Baroda, 28th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 489)

1820

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

On the 25th June, having been present at the Darbar of His Highness Sayaji, when the assembly broke up, I did not receive those marks of attention which His Highness had always been in the habits of paying the Resident by accompanying him to the door of the room.

again take place, and to request therefore that no further notice might be taken of the matter, and that I might be authorised to attend his Darbar as usual.

Minutes, 31st July, 1820.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter, ordered the *Approval* Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that his proceedings are entirely approved by the Governor-in-Council.

Baroda, 24th November, 1820 (1820, P. D. 496)

1820

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

I request that you will inform the Hon'ble Board that on the 17th instant Yashodabai, the daughter of His Highness the Gaikwad, was affianced to the Raja of Dhar: and I was present at the Darbar on the occasion with other Gentlemen of the Residency.

No. 7 MALHARRAO

The documents show the depth of degradation into which Malharrao had sunk. He was spending more money than he could afford, running into debt and then appealing for help to the Bombay Government. This disgraceful state of affairs could have been easily checked by the Bombay authorities, who failed to do so, and appealed to the Baroda Government for an extra allowance, till at last Sayajirao absolutely refused to give any further financial aid.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 18th March, 1814 (1814, P. D. 409)

1814

Petition of Prithibai, Khanderao's Widow.

That your oratrix with due respect and humble submission begs *Prithibai's* to lay her request before Your Lordship, trusting that it may be taken *request* into Your Lordship's gracious consideration.

That the pilgrimage of Trimbakeshwar is holding and assembling once after every twelve years, and the Hindu Law particularly directs that a man or woman, who is born in this world, ought to proceed twice in his or her lifetime for the performance of that pilgrimage; and it is further directed by the said Law that widows, similar to your oratrix, shall proceed for the performance of the said pilgrimage. It is greatly assured by the said Law that she or they will have great benefit and advantage by her or their doing so; and your oratrix has never been once for that purpose; and also it is *uncertain* that your oratrix shall or will be in life until another pilgrimage shall approach after 12 years from the present one.

Under these circumstances your oratrix humbly begs Your Lordship will graciously and charitably be pleased to permit your oratrix to

proceed to, and return from, the island of Nasik after performing the usual ceremony of the present pilgrimage, and trusting your Lordship will be pleased to fulfil your oratrix's wishes by granting such leave for the purpose as aforesaid, in granting which [request], your oratrix shall ever remember for long life and prosperity.

Minutes, 29th March, 1814.

Granted Ordered that the widow of Khanderao Gaikwad be informed that the Governor-in-Council is pleased to grant her permission to proceed to Nasik for the performance of the pilgrimage of Trimbakeshwar.

1814 *Bombay, 23rd March, 1814 (1814, P. D. 408)*

Malharrao to Francis H arden, letter dated 10th August, 1813.

Debts The monthly allowance of Rupees 1,000 is insufficient for my expenses both here and at home; and I have therefore been now compelled to incur a new debt of 5,000 Rupees to remit home. Under these circumstances I look to the payment of the sums, which I have stated to have been expended; and it will be requisite also that an arrangement should be made to meet my future expenses both here and elsewhere.

1814 *Bombay, 29th June 1814 (1814, P. D. 413)*

Account of all the debts of Malharrao brought up to Wednesday 2nd June, 1814.

Debts Total Rupees 34,367-0-4.

1816 *Bombay, 28th January, 1816 (1816, P. D. 427)*

Malharrao to Sir Evan Napcan.

Khanderao's widow Letter from Malharrao Gaikwad representing that the widow of the late Khanderao still continues to live with Moroba Zambria; and that he, assisted by Murarji Angria and others, is endeavouring to proceed at law for the recovery of the pension the payment of which was stopped in consequence of her misconduct.

Bombay orders

Orders Ordered that the Secretary and Translator in the Office of the Country Correspondence be instructed to acquaint Malharrao Gaikwad that the widow of the late Khanderao has been informed that, unless she forsakes her present habits and retires to Baroda, this Government will not continue her pension to her.

1816 *Baroda, 3rd February, 1816 (1816, P. D. 428)*

James R. Carnac to F. Warden.

Baroda protest Under an impression that the pension, which was fixed for Malharrao, was expressly to cover all expenses on his account, this Administration was surprised at the call which has been made on their assistance, more particularly so, as of recent date the family of that person, which had resided for many years in Cutch, has been invited and most respectfully settled in Baroda.

The degrading circumstances however, to which Malharrao is exposed,.... leaves Fatesing no other choice than to comply with the wishes of his uncle; but His Highness solicits the interposition of the authority of Government not only to prevent the recurrence of these claims by the penalty of the parties advancing money being liable to its forfeiture, but that the Gaikwad Government discharges the present debts by equal instalments in three successive years, since the state of its finances requires the indulgence.

Bombay, 6th March, 1816 (1816, P. D. 428)

1816

Malharrao to Sir Evan Nepean.

I have the honour to remind your Hon'ble Board of the subject of *Displeased* my having mentioned you the bad conduct of the widow of my late son, Khanderao, in order to have her reflected for such bad conduct; whereupon Your Hon'ble Board have thought proper to cease her allowance; and now I am informed that Your Hon'ble Board have ordered her allowance to be paid on her proceeding to Baroda.

Bombay minutes, 11th March.

Ordered that Malharrao Gaikwad be informed that this Govern- *Orders* ment have promised to provide an allowance for the widow of the late Khanderao, on condition of her proceeding to Baroda, but not otherwise; and in the former case her conduct will be under the eye of that Government, by which the charge of her maintenance is to be defrayed, so that in the event of any misconduct she will be liable to immediate punishment.

Letter from Prithibai, widow of Khanderao to Sir Evan Nepean, dated 22nd January, 1816.

With the highest respect and humble submission I beg leave to lay *Prithibai's* this my request for Your Lordship's favourable consideration and *request* protection, that is to say:

That in the month of July last, upon a disgraceful charge exhibited against me by Malharrao Gaikwad, Your Lordship had been pleased to issue an order to the Town-Major on the necessity of discontinuing my pension until further order; which was duly communicated to me by that officer; on which occasion I thought it indispensably necessary to lay my application before Your Lordship, explanatory of all the circumstances which had happened before this time; and that after a mature and deliberate consideration of all the case, therein stated, Your Lordship has been pleased to extend me my pension; but which I am to receive at Baroda, and not in Bombay, as hitherto enjoyed.

That in consequence of such order by Your Lordship, I was necessitated in the following month to address a letter to my mother at Poona, in order to obtain her consent to such Your Lordship's order; but who was then confined with sickness for these last five months past; and she now together with my other relatives, to whom it became known of my being placed in such situation, came down to Bombay and joined me these five days ago, when I have represented

all the circumstances relative to my being directed by Your Lordship's order to reside and receive my pension at Baroda; to which they cannot in all probability give their consent, because my residence at that place will be attended with a great many inconveniences, as since my marriage with my late much respected husband, Khanderao Gaikwad, I have never been beyond the island of Bombay.

Under these circumstances I request that Your Lordship as father and protector will be pleased to permit me to reside with my mother and receive my pension in Bombay as hitherto, and likewise issuing an order to the Town-Major to pay me the arrears of my pension of these last six months, in order to enable me to discharge the wages of all my servants, and house-rent for the same period, as well as to liquidate the debts which I have contracted during that time for defraying the expenses of necessities which are required for life. In granting this my humble request, I shall pray Almighty God for Your Lordship's long life and prosperity.

Bombay minutes, dated 11th March.

Ordered that the Town-Major be directed to acquaint the widow of Khanderao that her case has been fully considered by Government; and that, if she declines to conform to the conditions proposed to her, she cannot receive any aid either from the British or the Gaikwad Governments.

1816 *Bombay, 10th April, 1816 (1816, P. D. 429)*

Prithibai to Sir Etan Napcan.

Widow's request In obedience to Your Lordship's commands, bearing date between 9th and 12th ultimo, directing me to proceed to Baroda, there to reside and receive my pension, I now most respectfully beg to inform Your Lordship that I fully agree and conform to such Your Lordship's order, and in conformity thereto I shall hold myself in readiness to proceed thither in the course of a week.

Having thus fully complied with Your Lordship's order, and I beg leave here to observe that I cannot quit Bombay unless I shall discharge the sundry debts, which I have contracted for my maintenance during the period for which I was not in the habit of enjoying my pension, as well as the servants' wages and house-rent for the like period.

Under this case I request [that] Your Lordship-in-Council most graciously be pleased to issue a necessary order to the Town-Major and Pay Department to draw and pay me the arrears of my pension, to enable me to discharge the above mentioned claims against me; and the sum which will remain in my hands, after being paid the creditors, will aid me to defray the expenses of my journey from hence to the place already pointed out by Your Lordship for my residence; at the same time granting me an order upon the British Resident at Baroda to pay me regularly my monthly pension at that station; and in the meanwhile authorising the Town-Major to grant me a certificate of my having received my pension to such period.

In granting with the redress of this application, I shall ever consider as a mark of Your Lordship's highest favour.

Bombay minutes, 15th April.

Ordered that the Town-Major be instructed to acquaint the widow of the late Khanderao Gaikwad that the Governor-in-Council is pleased to comply with her request. Major Willis will accordingly receive the arrears, which are due from the 14th of July last, from the Civil Paymaster; and in paying the amount to Prithibai he will apprise her that, should any delay take place in her proceeding to Baroda, her pension will be discontinued. *Request granted*

The Town-Major will also acquaint her that the Resident at Baroda will be authorised on her arrival there to pay the amount of her pension monthly at that place.

Bombay, 27th May, 1816 (1816 P. D. 429)

1816

Malharrao to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to request you on the subject of the debts due by me to several merchants at this place, and for which purpose I had many times applied to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council by verbal and written applications, in order to have them discharged; that it has been promised to do so, but without effect; and that the creditors, to whom I am so indebted, are often pressing me and saying that I am cheating them. *Request*

Bombay, 2nd August, 1816 (1816, P. D. 430)

1816

Malharrao to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of the debts due by me; wherein it was stated that the debts I have contracted will be paid to my creditors by three equal instalments to be paid in the beginning of the year 1817, and the remaining two-thirds at the commencement of the two succeeding years. I have to say that on my communicating the circumstances to the creditors, who said that they cannot wait for three years more, they will try to get their demands paid at once by some other way. I have therefore to request to favour me with an order to pay me the whole amount of the account of such debts, so as to avoid the trouble, vexation and disgraceful step they have intended to take against me, as it will tend to a great disname to me at this place.¹ *Creditors active*

Baroda, 18th September, 1816 (1816, P. D. 431)

1816

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad Government has been induced to pay the debts of Malharrao Gaikwad, rather than that the family should be exposed to the stigma of his imprisonment. *Debts paid*

In the pecuniary distresses of this State, calls of this nature are extremely inconvenient, especially as the provision made for Malharrao

¹ The creditors threatened to imprison Malharrao.

through the means of the British Government was considered to embrace every expense on account of that person. This Government wishes it to be fully understood by Malharrao that he will never again meet with the indulgence now shown to his indiscretion, and I am solicited also to request that the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council will interdict the inhabitants of Bombay from administering to his extravagance.¹

1817 Baroda 11th July 1817 (1817, P. D. 437)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Baroda says I have the honour to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the Gaikwad Government has consented to the payment of a further sum of Rupees 15,000 (in addition to the former remittance) towards the liquidation of Malharrao Gaikwad's debts.

From the memorandum furnished me by Malharrao it appears that the whole of his debt amounted to .. Rs. 45,717 3 98.

Deduct paid in part with the remittance from
Baroda in my letter to you of the 18th
September 1816.

Rs. 33,285 1 86.

Balance due.. Rs. 12,432 2 12.

which with interest and other charges will probably amount to near 15,000 Rupees to the day of payment.

3. I beg leave to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad Government has represented to me its inability to give any future assistance towards answering Malharrao's extravagances, and is therefore very solicitous that the British Government will be pleased to adopt such measures as will prevent Malharrao from contracting debts in future.

1819 Baroda 30th December, 1819 (1819, P. D. 476)

W. Willoughby, Assistant in charge, to Mr. Warden.

Baroda's refusal I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter together with its enclosures, being a petition from Khandu Ganesh Ramrush, suing for the liquidation of a debt due to him from Malharrao Gaikwad, to the amount of Rupees 13, 209-1-28.

In pursuance of the directions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I have made the communication to this Government of the risk to which Malharro is exposed, of being committed to prison, provided this debt is not discharged.

The Gaikwad Government, though sensible of the stigma to which it will be exposed in the event of such a procedure taking place, cannot be induced to discharge the debts in question, both from the consideration of its at present labouring under heavy pecuniary embarrassments as well as from the circumstance of their considering such a measure would be only encouraging Malharrao to still further extravagance.

¹ On this occasion Baroda paid Rs. 33,285-2-12.

In September 1816 the whole of Malharrao's debts amounting to Rupees 33,285-1-88 were liquidated by this Government, at which time a communication was made to him through the Resident, Captain Carnac, that he would never meet the indulgence which at that was extended to him.

In communicating this refusal to relieve Malharrao from his present embarrassments I am requested by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad to express his earnest hope that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will not permit the extremity of the law to be resorted to by allowing the creditors of Malharrao to commit him to prison.

Bombay, 13th October, 1820 (1820 P. D. 493)

1820

R. A. Willis, Town-Major, to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report that the whole of Malharrao's creditors have been paid in the proportion which was submitted and approved of by Government with the exception of a Portuguese, named Ignacio Barretto. This man's share cannot be paid him, as he has not placed Malharrao in possession of a house, which he sold him, and will not do so, until the whole purchase money be paid. Under these circumstances I request you will have the goodness to ascertain for me whether it be the wish of Government that the portion of the Portuguese, 1,131 Rupees, should be paid into Malharrao's hands or divided among the other creditors.

Minutes, 16th October, 1820

Ordered the Town-Major be informed that the balance in question should be divided amongst Malharrao's other creditors.

No. 8. SITARAM

From the documents it appears that Sitaram was not unpopular in Baroda, but he continued to be *persona non grata* with the British authorities.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 18th June, 1817 (1817, S. D. 300)

1817

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I beg respectfully to bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have lately observed considerable interest among the Gaikwad family in behalf of Sitaram Raoji, and distant allusions have been made to me on the measure of his being allowed to return to his family. This feeling has probably been now brought to my attention, from Sitaram having sustained the loss of his wife and the scene of mourning which prevails in his house in this place. *Return advised*

Bombay minutes, dated 5th July.

The Governor-in-Council is led to believe that His Lordship will not consider a compliance with the recommendation from the Resident

to be objectionable at the present moment, under the change of circumstances which has occurred since the resolution of removing Sitaram from Baroda was adopted, and is therefore induced to submit the measure to Your Lordship's sanction.

1817 *On the Ganges near Churah, 16th August, 1817 (1817, S. D. 301)*

J. Adam to Francis Warden.

*G.G.'s
approval*

2. I am directed by the Governor-General to observe that His Lordship might have had doubts, on general grounds, as to the expediency of acquiescing in Sitaram's return to Baroda; but, as these objections (resulting from the former conduct of that person) must have been weighed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council and by the Resident at Baroda, His Lordship does not wish to oppose the measure on grounds which to those who have the means of judging from nearer observation, appear to be insufficient; and he therefore requests that the Governor-in-Council will exercise his own discretion on the point of Sitaram's being permitted to return to Baroda.

1819 *Baroda, 9th February, 1819 (1819, S. D. 311)*

James R. Carnac to William Newnham.

*Sitaram's
recall*

I have reason to believe it [*Sitaram's return to Baroda*] would be considered in a very favourable point of view in the country and by the Gaikwad family, if Sitaram received an act of indulgence of the nature I have ventured to suggest. He was always a favourite from his manners and temper, and there remains nothing at this Darbar which is likely to receive the remotest degree of detriment from any weight which his public character might formerly have possessed. It might not be desirable for a time at least to have [*give him*] any share of public business; but there can be no objection to the wish of His Lordship Sayaji Gaikwad, which he has expressed to me, of allowing Sitaram's son, a young man of about 20 years of age, to receive charge of the State seal, which office was formerly attached to one of the late Raoba's family and only suspended when Sitaram retired from the Administration.

3. Neither the office itself for the capacity of Sitaram's son, which stands below mediocrity, will bestow more upon him than mere respectability with a moderate salary; but as the Gaikwad family do feel an attachment very laudable to them on account of the services of the late Raoba, and as our connection with this State was formed through the agency of that able minister, I feel assured that a testimony of regard to Sitaram's son, involving no possible consequences of inconvenience, will prove gratifying to this Darbar and highly creditable to the British Government.

Bombay reply, dated 26th February

*Return
offered*

The Governor-in-Council cannot for many reasons acquiesce in the return of Sitaram Raoji to Baroda at the present moment. You have not yet had sufficient experience of the character and qualifications of Sayajirao Gaikwad, nor has the conduct of some of the Ministers at Baroda been such as to encourage this Government to consent to the return of Sitaram, in whose future agency no confidence can be placed.

3. That he is a favourite and popular at the Baroda Darbar, there can be no doubt; for he administered on all occasions to the rapacious and corrupt inclinations of his coadjutors, and sacrificed his public duty to motives of an unprincipled and interested nature.

4. The Supreme Government evidently yielded a reluctant consent to a former recommendation of this Government that Sitaram might be allowed to return on grounds which do not yet appear to be entirely removed.

5. Any disposition therefore in the Gaikwad Government in favour of Sitaram's return should be discouraged under an explicit assurance that the motives of the British Government in thus opposing its wishes are founded on a disinterested regard to the interests of that State; but that, whenever the Governor-in-Council shall be satisfied that no danger will result from Sitaram's return, the measure will no longer be opposed. From the good conduct which Sitaram has observed since his retirement at Navsari, a hope may be entertained that the measure may be practicable at no distant period.

6. In the meantime the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has much pleasure in acceding to the wishes of His Highness Sayaji Gaikwad for the appointment of Sitaram's son to the charge of the State seal, a measure which is free from those objections which oppose the return of his father to the capital.

Baroda, 6th March, 1819 (1819 P. D. 463)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Acting Chief Secretary Newnham.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the son of Sitaram Raoji *Sitaram's* was this day in Darbar appointed to the situation of sikhnavis and *son* received from His Highness the usual cloths of investiture.

Baroda, 17th March, 1819 (1819, S. D. 311)

1819

John Williams, Acting Resident, to William Newnham.

I endeavoured to impress upon His Highness the inexpediency of, *Sayaji* at present, granting permission to Sitaram Raoji to return to Baroda, *displeased* His Highness said he was well aware of the designs of the discontented and fully sensible of the danger he was lately exposed to; but that Sitaram Raoji had now been sufficiently punished for his former misconduct by his long banishment from his family; that his misfortunes must have taught him wisdom; and that his gratitude for the late kindness shown to his son in appointing him to the situation of sikhnavis, and for permitting his return to Baroda, if Government should concur, would be a sufficient guarantee for his conduct in future.

Bombay, 24th March, 1819 (1819, S. D. 311)

1819

James R. Carnac (now in Bombay) to William Newnham

In obedience to the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I have respectfully to offer my opinion that, in the event of his *Carnac* desiring to postpone the return of Sitaram, I convey a notification to that effect to Sayajirao Gaikwad, *yields* [it] would be satisfactory to him. The desire of His Highness is not so particularly for the immediate

return of Sitaram, as being given an assurance that the removal of that person from Baroda will not now be considered perpetual.

Remarks in the Diary.

Bombay policy Ordered that Mr. Williams be directed to acquaint His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad that, although this Government cannot accede to the return of Sitaram Raoji to Baroda at the present moment, it is not their intention that his removal from the capital should be perpetual.

1819 *Baroda, 1st June, 1819 (1819 P. D. 467)*

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

Request I have been requested by His Highness Sayajirao to solicit the sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council for the return of Sitaram Raoji to Baroda for the purpose of celebrating his marriage, which must take place within twenty days from this date or be postponed until the same month next year. Sitaram will return to Navsari after the performance of the ceremony.

Minutes, 10th June, 1819.

Granted In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter, conveying an application from His Highness Sayajirao, that Sitaram Raoji may be allowed to repair to Baroda for the purpose of celebrating his marriage.

1819 *Baroda, 2nd July, 1819 (1819, P. D. 468)*

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

Sitaram arrives I have the honour to inform you that Sitaram Raoji arrived here yesterday from Navsari. He was met outside the town by the officers of Government, and afterwards proceeded to the palace and the house of His Highness Sayajirao. He subsequently waited upon me and expressed himself as deeply impressed with the kindness of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council in permitting him to repair to Baroda to perform his marriage ceremonies. He appears much broken in spirit and to be in an infirm state.

1819 *Baroda, 27th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 472)*

James Williams to F. Warden.

Stay in Baroda The period having expired, to which the stay of Sitaram Raoji at Baroda was limited, I expressed to His Highness Sayajirao the wish of the British Government that he should now return to Navsari.

His Highness received this communication with much discontent and said that he had thought Sitaram was to be permitted to reside with his family at Baroda; that he would remain quiet and was not to interfere in the concerns of the State; and requested I would express his desire that the British Government should declare themselves satisfied with the conduct of Sitaram during his exile at Navsari and acquiesce in his remaining at Baroda; which His Highness appears to think we have not much right to object to.

Minutes, 3rd November.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter, ordered *Approval* the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that, under the circumstances which he has represented, the Governor-in Council will not offer any further objection to Sitaram's remaining at Baroda.

Baroda, 18th November, 1819 (1819. P. D. 473.)

1819

J. P. Willoughby, Assistant in charge, to Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have communicated to *Sitaram* His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad the permission of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to Sitaram's remaining at Baroda, with which communication he was much gratified.

Baroda, 18th November, 1819 (1819, P. D. 474)

1819

Sitaram Raoji to the Governor of Bombay.

By the bounty of...good fortune has been vouchsafed to you, and *Congratulation* I have derived a high degree of satisfaction in hearing that you had assumed charge of the Government of Bombay on behalf of the Hon'ble Company. I now dispatch this letter of congratulation with a request that the good offices I have so long experienced may be continued, and an answer ordered to be returned to me. My case must be fully known to you from the commencement, and the friendly Mr. James Williams, who is now at the Presidency, will make an application to you in regard to me.

Minutes, 9th December

Ordered that the Secretary in the Office of Country Correspondence be desired to acknowledge the receipt of the preceding letter in the usual form.

NO. 9. KAMAL-UD-DIN

Kamal-ud-din had proved very serviceable to the British authorities, as may be gathered from the documents published in the fourth volume of this series.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 3rd December, 1818 (1819, P. D. 459)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary *Loan of* Henderson's letter requiring me to submit a specific proposition as to *one lakh* the amount which in my opinion should be advanced to Mir Kamal-ud-din without being subject to interest.

I request you will have the goodness in reply to observe that I should consider a lakh of Rupees as but a moderate loan to the Khan, and the smallest sum which could be offered consistent with the claims of that sardar or the dignity of the Company's Government.

1819 *Ratlam, 5th January 1819 (1819 P. D. 459)*

John Malcolm, Brigadier-General, to Francis Warden.

Letter I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter I have this addressed to the acting Resident at Baroda.

Letter from John Malcolm, to Captain Ballentine, dated 5th January, 1819.

Kamal dead It is with great regret I report the sudden death of Kamal-ud-din Husain Khan, commander of the Gaikwad horse. The past services of this Chief had given him a respectability and weight which, combined with his actual character, makes him a loss to the public service. I am however of opinion that his place will be very efficiently supplied by his eldest son, Amin-ud-din Husain.

Kamal's son This youngman (though not above 20) is very superior to most of his class of life. I have had the fullest opportunity of judging him, and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that this command could not be entrusted to better hands. Amin-ud-din has temper, activity and good sense, with a competent knowledge of our customs; and the steadiness of his character, and correctness of his habits have gained him the attachment of every member of his own family and the respect of the soldiers of this contingent. These circumstances will, I hope, be an excuse for suggesting to you the measure of recommending him to the Gaikwad Government, with whom a knowledge of my sentiments may have some weight.

Minutes, 21st January.

Grief In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding dispatch, the Secretary is to express the deep regret of the Governor-in-Council at death of Kamal-ud-din Husain Khan, of whose character and services this Government was fully aware.

1819 *Baroda, 20th January, 1819 (1819, P. D. 460)*

F. D. Ballantine to Neunham Acting Chief Secretary.

Renard On having communicated with His Highness Sayajirao in the terms of the Brigadier-General the commendation of the son of the deceased Khan, it affords me the great gratification to inform Government that His Highness entirely approves the suggestions in favour of the son, and that the most satisfactory letters have been addressed by this Government to Amin-ud-din Husain, accompanied by the customary khilat, on this melancholy occasion.

1819 *Baroda, 9th June, 1819 (1819, P. D. 467)*

James Williams to Mr. Neunham.

Request [Summary]. The Acting Resident requests sanction to advance the sum of one lakh of Rupees to the family of the late Mir Kamal-ud-din Khan, the distress of the family increasing.

1819 *Baroda, 11th June, 1819 (1819, P. D. 467)*

James Williams to Mr. Neunham.

Request [Summary]. The family of the late Mir Kamal-ud-din Khan, having selected the village of Abua in the Chorasi pargana, requests it may be made over to them.

Bombay, 11th October, 1820 (1820, P.D. 493)

1820

Sanad to Kamal-ud-din's son.

Whereas the late Kamal-ud-din Husain Khan on many occasions *Sanad* rendered essential services to the British Government, in reward for which the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has been pleased to settle on his son Said Amin-ud-din Husain Khan for his own support and that of Kamal-ud-din's family the village of Abua in the pargana of Chorasi under Surat as a jagir from the commencement of the Mrigsal 1876 or June 1819, the same being valued at Rupees 3,500 per annum, which the said Said Amin-ud-din Husain Khan and the heirs of Kamal-ud-din in succession are to collect the fair rental of more or less, and enjoy the same, continuing for the rest duly obedient to all the orders of the English Government and to the process of their courts of justice according to the regulations. Dated in Surat the 29th of September, 1820.

No. 3. NATIVE STATES

The documents deal with the relations between Baroda and various Native States: Ali Mohan, Jodiya, Malia, Okhomandal, Rajpipla, and Vagad. The Bombay Government was interested in these dealings and took a prominent part in them.

DOCUMENTS

No. 1. ALI MOHAN

Baroda, 4th December, 1816 (1816, P. D. 432)

1816

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden

[Summary] A letter from the Resident submits proposals from the *Request* deposed Raja of Ali Mohan, offering a portion of its revenue, on condition of his restoration by our means. Similar offers made to the Gaikwad. No information as to its being independent of any foreign Power, its local importance, nature of the country, of the present Ruler, expediency of establishing an influence there.

Fort William, 8th January, 1817 (1817 P. D. 434)

1817

J. Adam to Francis Warden.

In the uncertainty which prevails, and which there is no means of *Refusal* clearing up here, regarding the independence of Ali Mohan on any other State not placed in a light of hostility by acts of aggression on the British Government, it would be inconsistent with the principles of justice and of our general policy to encourage the overture of the deposed Raja. Supposing however the fact of its independence to be established, the Governor-General-in-Council would not be disposed to interfere in the interior affairs of an independent State unconnected with the British Government by any ties of alliance or interest, nor to sanction a similar interference on the part of the Gaikwad.

His Lordship-in-Council accordingly requests that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will instruct the Resident at Baroda to decline on the part of the British Government the overtures of the deposed Raja of Ali Mohan and to move the Gaikwad to adopt the same course of proceeding.

No. 2 JODIYA.

1815 *Camp at Wankia, 20th February, 1815 (1815, P. D. 420)*

Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac

Maskatis defeated 7. In my report of the 10th, on the conclusive arrangements at Navanagar, I had occasion to advert to the rebellion of the Maskati Arabs composing the garrisons of Hariana, Kandorna and Pardhari, and the measures set on foot for its suppression, in the course of which several smart actions have taken place with that division composing the garrison of Hariana, a strong barricaded town. The casualties have been upwards of 300 killed and wounded, and the Arabs have since evacuated the place and taken refuge at Jodiya.

Jodiya trouble 8. I have frequently reported on the delinquency of the Khawases, and I cannot better elucidate their participation in these excesses than by handing in the accompanying copy and translate of a letter with its enclosure from Sunderji Sivji on the subject. A letter, also received on the same occasion from Govindrao, mentions that the Khawases had sent to enlist a large body of Arabs, that has been discharged by Husain Miyan on his quitting Bhuj.

No. 1. Translate of a letter from Sunderji Sivji to Captain Ballantine, dated 11th February, 1815

Jodiya's guilt I have already written you a letter sent by Rao Saheb, fully describing everything that has occurred at Hariana, You will have received that letter and learned all particulars therefrom. The Maskati Arabs have evacuated Hariana, and it was thought they would have taken refuge in Pardhari; but on hearing that they had fled to Jodiya, Rao Saheb and myself, accompanied lightly, followed them here, where we came on Monday, 6th February. Sangram Khawas has been told that it was highly improper in him to entertain the Maskatis, the sarkar's delinquents, and that in doing so some evil would befall him. You may be satisfied, Sir, that the whole of the conspiracy of the Maskatis is entirely owing to the Jodiya-man, who declared at last that he would not turn away the Maskatis and demeaned himself otherwise in the most disrespectful manner. For five days past I have used every endeavour in my power to influence him, to no avail. Sangramji has to-day openly declared to me that he will answer on that day when the Diwanji and Captain Ballantine come here, and told us to go from hence. Therefore, Sir, when you and the Diwanji come here, then matters will be brought to some conclusion. We have already heard of your having entered into your tents, and therefore do but come quickly for the preservation of our characters. I need not say more.

Baroda, 14th April, 1815 (1815 P. D. 421)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, on my having called upon this [*the Gaikwad*] Government for an explanation of the apparent inactivity of its troops in resisting the incursions of the Vagad plunderers, it has been represented that, owing to the open defiance of the Jodiya Chief, the sarsubah of Kathiawar [*Vithalrao Diwanji*] has abundant employment for his forces, as well as that the intrigues of that Chief have thrown the greater part of Halar into confusion. Jodiya trouble

Baroda, 22nd April, 1815 (1815, P. D. 421)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The boldness of the late attacks from Vagad and the union of the plunderers of that Province with the Jats of Warye, the connivance of the Cutch State in the depredations committed from that quarter, added to the rebellion of the Jodiya Chief, aided by the petty authorities of Okhamandal and by Arab troops from Bhuj, demand the prompt exertion of means to suppress such serious proceedings. The influence, already produced on the Kathi tribes, has not been inconsiderable; and until an example is made by a signal punishment of those who have so long prosecuted their incursions to the utter destruction of a fertile country, it is in vain to expect any amelioration in a state of things rapidly approaching to the dissolution of every arrangement by which the public tranquillity has been preserved. Measures necessary.

No. 1. Captain Ballantine's report, dated 15th April,

By the prolongation of the Khawasas' rebellion I am sorry to report that all that part of the Nagar taluka, contiguous to Jodiya, has become totally waste and depopulated. The best interests of the Nagar Chieftainship seem at stake, and all the tract of country in this neighbourhood as well as adjacent to the fortresses of Pardhari and Kandorna are entirely deserted, owing to the depredations committed by those rebellious garrisons. I have hope however that the measures, now adopting by the Gaikwad and Nagar sarkars for the immediate and actual subjection of the rebels and for obtaining possession of the fortresses, will be attended with success, and thereby (in the meantime) provide in some degree for the interior tranquillity of the Nagar taluka. Jodiya trouble

No. 2. Memorandum of the present state of Jodiya, dated Chaitra Sudh, 1817.

Khawas Sangram, Maneck Muly of Okhamandal and Rana Sakharamji of Beyt, having agreed among themselves, have commenced a predatory warfare against the Jam of Navanagar. They assemble their people and ravage and plunder his towns and villages. The insubordination of the Jodiya Chief thus continually increases. He totally disregards and condemns the commands of the sarkar, and the whole of the bhumias seem to have imbibed a spirit of insubordination Navanagar attacked

and insurrection, and they all are peculiarly attentive to the actions of the Chief of Jodiya.

No. 3. Letter from Vithalrao Diwanji to Captain J. R. Carnac, dated Therali in the Suppa of Kandorna, 5th Jamadi-al-awal.

Trouble I arrived at this place last Friday. The Khawas is daily growing more obstinate. The Ahmadabad authorities have sent a karkun to Jodiya. Inderji Mehta, who accompanied the Arabs into Jodiya, has proceeded to Ahmadabad with a hundi for money to procure what may be required. The berak, that was stationed by the Peshwa's authorities in Vankaner, is in league with the Jodiya-man.

No. 4. Letter from Vithalrao Diwanji to Fatesingrao Gaikwad, dated 5th Jamadi-al-awal.

General revolt The Kathis and bhumias of this country are everywhere up in arms. The Jodiya Chief, Sangram Khawas, has revolted. He is daily enlisting troops. The Arabs, that were in Nagar, have seized the three forts of Pardhari, Hariana and Kandorna, subject to the Jam. Govindrao, who was in the Rann Kantha with a force, in conjunction with the Nagar troops, rescued Hariana from them. They fled and took shelter in Jodiya. They were pursued as far as that place by Govindrao, who demanded that the Jodiya-man should deliver them up; on which the Khawas sent a very insolent and haughty reply.

1815 Baroda, 27th April, 1815 (1815, P.D. 421)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Jodiya aggressive I had the honour to address you under date the 22nd of this month, on the subject of the proceedings of the Khawas of Jodiya, and request you will now submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copies and translates of a letter and its accompaniments received yesterday from the sarsubah of Kathiawar. It would appear from the means taken to augment the forces at Jodiya that his Chief has determined on standing the consequences of hostility with Government.

The fort of Kandorna, of which the Diwanji is endeavouring to acquire possession, belongs to the Navanagar Chief, and was lately obtained by Jodiya with the fort of Pardhari by seducing the garrison composed of Arabs.

No. 1. Letter from Vithalrao Diwanji to Captain James R. Carnac, dated Kandorna, 10th Jamadi-al-awal.

Skirmish The force of the Diwanji marched from Korala to Kandorna; and on arriving there, he with the Assistant (Captain Ballantine), went unattended to the tank to view the fort, the guns of which immediately opened on them. That they then took their station on a small hillock, and the infantry and cavalry of the fort came out and commenced a fire on them. They directed their fire chiefly on the patak or risalah of the Raja Pandhra and the Hujarya, which returned it, but retired to draw them further out, and about 40 masketeers came forward. The Raja Pandhra and the Diwanji, taking advantage

of this, charged and engaged them hand to hand; 5 musketeer (Arabs) were killed and a like number wounded. On our side 2 horses of the Raja Pandhra were killed and 5 or 6 wounded, with 5 horses belonging to silahdars; the rest are all safe. The horse of the Raja Pandhra fell in the charge, and in rising again struck him on the breast with his foot, but he is not dangerously hurt. After this skirmish they returned to camp.

No. 2. Letter from Jamadar Ali Ben Saif of Kandorna to Jamadar Muhammad Ben Nasir at Jodiya, dated Chaitra Sudh 8th.

That on the 7th Chaitra Sudh the Gaikwad force arrived at *Kandorna* and established the batteries to the northward; they have *attacked* continued firing ever since. The batteries are directed by Diwanji, Captain Ballantine, and Sunderji. On Monday there was a sharp engagement. They lost 3 horses killed and many men, and we had 5 Arabs killed and 5 wounded. The firing still continues.

No. 3. Letter from Govindrao to Vithalrao Diwanji, dated Jamadi-al-awal the 9th.

I have seized a kasid, who was carrying a letter from Narainrao *Letter* Taktia of Ahmadabad to his karkun in Jodiya. I have taken a copy of *intercepted* the letter and put the bearer in confinement. I forwarded the original by one of my own kasids to Jodiya. The kasid delivered the letter and has returned with the karkun's reply. The Arabs were about to wrest the paper from him, while on the road; but he deceived them, and has brought it hither.

Bombay, 3rd May, 1815 (1815, P. D. 421)

1815

Resolutions.

The dismemberment of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran from the *Measures* Principality of Navanagar was effected when Meru Khawas was the Diwan of the late Jam Jasaji, who as the price of his release from the custody of his Minister was compelled to cede those territories, and to the ambition and intrigues of this Minister is also to be attributed the commencement of the claims of the late Fateh Muhammad of Cutch upon Navanagar, to satisfy which this Government was obliged to undertake an expedition against the Jam in 1812.

In addition to these instances of misconduct, attributable to the Diwan, Hirji Khawas, one of the family, who was put in possession of Amran, was a participator in the crimes of the Malia banditti, and that district was thus rendered the rendezvous whither the Mianas sought refuge and deposited their plunder.

Such were the circumstances with respect to Jodiya, Balambha and Amran, when Colonel Walker made his circuit of Kathiawar in 1809; and considering the means by which they were acquired, he would have been justified in enforcing the restoration of those places at that time to their ancient proprietors. Still as the alienation had been acquiesced in for a long period, and the persons in possession had been permitted to settle for the payment of its revenue with the Supreme Government, viz. the Chief of Jodiya for Jodiya and Balambha, and

Hirji Khawas for Amran, on the footing of original bhumias of the country, the adjustment detailed in Colonel Walker's report of the 27th September, 1809, was considered as having the effect of guaranteeing their peaceable possession.

Since the conclusion of those engagements and during the continuance of the farm of Ahmadabad in the hands of the Gaikwad, we have had no cause of complaint against the Jodiya Chieftain. Since the termination however of the farm of Ahmadabad some of the inferior Chieftains of Kathiawar have betrayed a disposition to return to those habits of plunder on the peaceable and well-disposed part of the community, by which they were formerly distinguished; and the dispatches from the Resident at Baroda now before the Board afford abundant proofs of the necessity of immediately checking the evil by an exemplary punishment of the Jodiya Chieftain, the more especially as that disposition appears by the evidence, contained in those dispatches, to be encouraged by the Peshwa's officers in Gujarat, a conduct upon which a representation has been made to the Resident at Poona.

The Governor-in-Council, impressed with a conviction of the necessity of affording aid to the Chieftain of Navanagar in suppressing the rebellion of the Khawasas, and effecting the restoration of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran, and of the forts of Kandorna and Pardhari to their former legitimate proprietor, has already issued the necessary instructions for the purpose to the Resident at Baroda from the Secret Department.

1815 *Baroda, 21st May, 1815 (1815, P. D. 421)*

James Williams to Captain F. D. Ballantine.

Directions You will in concert with the sarsubah of Kathiawar enter into a negotiation with the Navanagar Chief for the payment of the troops which may be employed in affording this aid to him.

The fort of Jodiya having been recommended as a fit place for the formation of a depot for the army in the event of operations against Cutch being sanctioned by the Right Hon'ble the Governor, I request that every attempt be made through the medium of negotiation to induce the Khawas peaceably to evacuate the fort, previous to having recourse to hostilities, as the taking of that place by storm would in great measure defeat the proposed object of forming a depot for the army from the plunder and devastation that would be the inevitable consequence.

1815 *Bombay, 7th June, 1815 (1815, S. D. 290)*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Offer to Jodiya On the arrival of Colonel East with the force under his command in the vicinity of Jodiya, that officer should be directed to abstain from any act of hostility until he shall have been enabled to ascertain how far the Khawas may be disposed to accede to the proposition directed to be made to him, for the relinquishment of the possession held by him and his connections, as also of the fort of Pardhari and Kandorna belonging to the Chief of Navanagar, on the ground stated

my dispatch of the 3rd ultimo [3rd May]; and in the event of his recurrence, assurances are to be given to him (notwithstanding his repeated acts of misconduct) of the interposition of the British Government for the securing a provision for himself and his family.

3. Should the Khawas comply with the requisition above mentioned, you are in such a case authorised to recommend to the Chief of Navanagar or his Minister the propriety of his making a suitable pecuniary provision for the family, which, it is presumed, the Jam Sahib will not hesitate to grant on being restored to his original patrimony. In the event of a rejection of an immediate arrangement, Colonel Eastwood would of course pursue his operations for the reduction of those places with the utmost possible vigour.

Baroda, 10th June, 1815 (1815, P. D. 421)

1815

Williams to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to forward for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council a copy of a dispatch from Captain Ballantine to my address, reporting the capture of the fort of Kandorna.

Letter from F. D. Ballantine to J. Williams, dated, Camp before Kandorna, 30th May.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council that the fortress of Kandorna, captured yesterday evening by the troops of this force and those of the Chief of Navanagar, after a siege of some time, during which a practicable breach had been effected. The strong garrison of Pardhari continues in full force, from whence as well as Jodiya they have lately destroyed several villages and committed other serious depredations.

Baroda, 26th June, 1815 (1815, P. D. 421)

1815

James R. Carnac to Colonel W. East.

The primary object consists in the necessity of dispossessing the Chiefs of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran of the forts and territories now held by them, and of such places, which they may have recently captured, belonging to the Chief of Navanagar. This service, it is hoped, will be executed within a reasonable period of time and admit the troops being prepared for such other duties as Government may be pleased hereafter to direct.

It becomes highly expedient however that the proceedings now proposed to be adopted should be carried on with every solicitude to avoid the extremity of hostility with the Chiefs above adverted to. I have therefore directed my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, by whom the negotiations will be transacted, connected with all objects in which a detachment under your command will be employed at present, to use every exertion to induce the Chiefs of Jodiya to relinquish their possessions without compelling us to resort to compulsion, by which otherwise so many lives will be sacrificed with the consequent supersession of any claim on the part of that Chief to the consideration of the British Government.

1815 *Baroda, 17th July, 1815 (1815, P. D. 423)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Pardhari I have the pleasure to enclose copy and translate of a letter from Vithalrao Diwanji, announcing the reduction of the fort of Pardhari to the Gaikwad force under his command.

Letter from Vithalrao Diwanji to James R. Carnac, dated 10th July.

Pardhari taken I was waiting 3 or 4 days until the weather should clear up, that I might erect and open batteries on the fort of Pardhari, when Ba Habib, an Arab jamadar, arrived from Jodiya to accommodate matters peaceably. I told him he must give up the place immediately; and if not, that it would be assaulted and many lives lost. He accordingly went into the fort and expostulated with the garrison, and they at last agreed that, if security was given that they might retire to Jodiya with their arms, they would surrender the fort. I gave them the desired security, and have this day posted the Navanagar troops in the fort. I hasten to inform you of this happy event. Regarding the possibility of taking the place by force, there could be no doubt; but, as it seemed in conformity to the orders of Government not to proceed to extremities, it has by the good fortune of the sarkar happened otherwise.

Thus, Sir, we have restored to the Nagar Chieftain the 3 forts of Hariana, Kandorna and Pardhari. They have been delivered up, and the rebels punished.

1815 *Baroda, 6th August, 1815 (1815 P. D. 423)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Letter The accompanying copy of a dispatch from Colonel East will apprise the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the Chieftain of Jodiya having refused the terms offered to him by Captain Ballantine. The junction of the Gaikwad force with the troops under the command of Colonel East has also taken place.

Letter from Colonel East to James R. Carnac, dated Camp at Bhadra, 28th July.

By a letter of this date from Captain Ballantine I am informed that the Chieftain of Jodiya has refused to accede to the terms proposed to him, and I therefore consider myself at liberty in conformity with your instructions to commence offensive operations against the fort the moment the state of the roads will admit of my approach towards it.

A reconnoitring party has been sent forward this morning for the purpose of ascertaining this point, and its return will enable me to determine with certainty on the period when I may look forward to the commencement of my march.

1815 *Camp before Jodiya, 10th August, 1815 (1815, P. D. 424)*

Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

Peace Hirji, the Chief of Amran, has since come to Jodiya; and I am informed professes his willingness to deliver up the place without

demur, wishing however to avail himself of the same indulgences to be granted to the supreme Chief, Sangram, on the subject of which, as well as other matter of arrangements connected herewith, in concurrence with the Gaikwad officers and the Chieftain of Navanagar, I shall hereafter have the honour to submit for your own information and that of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. It may be satisfactory to assure you in the meantime that the most perfect tranquillity prevails, that our troops are in full and quiet possession; and it may be a pleasing circumstance to contemplate so signal an instance of the power and magnanimity of the British Government without actual coercion or bloodshed, and I conceive that the circumstance will prove a lasting example to the surrounding Chieftains.

*No. 1. Camp 1½ mile east of Jodiya, 8th August, 1815 (1815, P.D. 424)
Captain Ballantine to Colonel W. East.*

The Khawas has sent his brother, Panchanan, as a hostage, and *Surrender* who is now here in that situation for the fulfilment of the conditions demanded from him, and to solicit that he may be allowed a reasonable time in the course of to-morrow to remove his family and private property to Balambha as well as time for the Arabs to march out.

The indulgence of allowing his family to be removed to Balambha is meant to temporise with an apparently insurmountable prejudice, but entirely temporary, until Government may decide on the arrangements that will be submitted for his future residence, and directed to be obtained for him from the Jam under such an instance of his better demeanour; and the eventual surrender of that place is to be provided for by the continuance of the hostage in our possession and [by] such other provisions and securities as shall be determined on to-morrow consequently to our obtaining possession, which will then be facilitated, as well as all other minor arrangements, by an uninterrupted intercourse with the Khawas, who will remain himself for the present at Jodiya.

It is proposed also to-morrow to summon Hirji Khawas from Amran, and it is expected he will peaceably surrender; should he not, I will take the earliest opportunity of communicating with you, that the orders of Government may be enforced.

Baroda, 18th August, 1815 (1815, P. D. 424)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In reference to my letter of yesterday's date I have the honour to *Report* submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of Colonel East's report of the surrender of Jodiya and its dependencies.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel W. East to James R. Carnac, dated Camp at Jodiya, 9th August.

The state of the weather precluded the possibility of moving *Events* from the ground I then occupied till the 5th instant, when by the exertions of a strong working party, which had been for two days employed on the roads, I was enabled, though with difficulty, to push

forward to a position within 4 miles of Jodiya, commanding a distinct view of the eastern face of the fort as well as the communication of Balambla, which was likewise in sight from the right of the encampment.

The necessary arrangements were immediately made for taking up our ground before the place the next morning and effecting its speedy reduction. But in the evening the orders for this movement were countermanded in consequence of an intimation from Captain Ballantine that overtures had been received from the Khawas of a nature that would probably lead to the complete fulfilment of the views of Government without having recourse to coercive measures, and requesting that the march might be postponed till he could ascertain the sincerity with which these offers had been made.

For this purpose Sunderji Sivji was dispatched to hold a conference with Sangram on the morning of the 6th, and returned late in the evening with a full conviction that the terms of Government would be agreed to, and the fort immediately surrendered, on condition of the Khawas receiving assurances of his personal safety and security of his property. The next day however when the possession of the gates was demanded, as the pledge of this adherence to his agreement, he refused compliance and evinced such an unwillingness to accede to the proposals which had been made to him, that it was considered expedient to put a stop to the negotiation and to adopt immediate measures for reduction of the fort.

In consequence of a communication to this effect from Captain Ballantine I moved down yesterday morning and took up a position favourable for covering my batteries, which it was my intention to erect in the night; but it shortly appeared that the demonstration alone had produced the desired effect, as an immediate negotiation was set on foot on our approach to the town, and before 12 o'clock the Chieftain's brother was sent out as a hostage for the exact performance of the treaty. This morning a party of 400 men from the 1st battalion of the 7th Regiment were ordered to take possession of the gates, and at this moment the Arabs have evacuated the fort, and everything continues in a state of tranquillity.

The particulars of the treaty you will of course receive from Captain Ballantine. It includes, I am informed, the surrender of Balambla and Amran; and I have thus the pleasure to congratulate you on the re-establishment of the interests of the Company and those of its allies in every part of the country, lately in possession of the Chieftain of Jodiya, without the effusion of blood.

No. 2. *Minutes, 29th August.*

Treated In acknowledging the receipt of the proceeding dispatch reporting the surrender of Jodiya and its dependencies, ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council has great satisfaction in observing that this important service has been executed without having recourse to those measures of coercion which, it was feared, would have been necessary from the recent conduct of Sangram the Khawas.

Baroda, 5th Decembèr, 1815 (1815, P. D. 425)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour to transmit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy of a dispatch from my Assistant in Kathiawar with its enclosures.

No. 1. Ballantine's report.

1. I have the honour to report conclusively with reference to my letter relating to the since entirely peaceable occupation of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran, the arrangements proposed by the Nagar Chieftain for the Khawasas, the obtainment of proper bonds for the payment of the expenses of this force, and such matter of arrangements as has been effected with the Nagar Chieftain. *Detailed account*

2. It being expedient for the force to remain some time in the neighbourhood, on the 11th August (1815) it moved ground from the advanced position before Jodiya to about 6 miles east. The detachment had taken quiet possession, Sangram and his family continued in the fort; and the Arabs were busied in obtaining their discharge and departing out of the country, especially the Maskatis, who had been particularly enjoined to that effect.

3. While the force remained stationary on this ground, which was about 14 days, the garrison of Balambha had been paid off; and on their quitting the place, Sangram removed his family there and all his movable property, but continued himself at Jodiya. Hirji Khawas also, as I have reported, came in, and immediately offered to deliver himself up to be included with the rest for a future provision; and a captain's party marched and took possession, after he had removed his family and property, and the garrison had marched out.

4. It was here also the Khawas presented the enclosed written petition¹ through his brother Panchanan, the hostage in camp.

7. The arrangements for the security of Balambha were considered beyond all doubt; but Sangram had, I found, retained a small party of Arabs under two jamadars, who had been with him from the first periods; and well knowing the spirit of these restless mercenaries, who can always find partisans, induced me to conceive that Sangram might be induced to compromise his present possession of Balambha.

8. The circumstances were first made known to Panchanan, who accepted them as sufficiently cogent. He proposed to write his brother, provided Sunderji was deputed on the business.

9. The sarsubah, having concurred in these sentiments, Sunderji was deputed and returned in 5 days. The Khawas readily agreed; he easily conceived the possibility of his Arabs deceiving him, and said what they might do, would of course fall on his head; and proposed retiring to Dhrangadhra with his family.

11. On Sangram's quitting Balambha, and as had been arranged for, with Colonel East, a military detachment of our sepoy's marched

¹ See accompaniment No. 2.

from Jodiya and took possession; and Sunderji, as has been observed, returned to camp. [*The troops afterwards marched to Ballacherry*].

20. I now return to the narrative of our proceedings at Ballacherry.

21. The Diwanji was unwell and would not be able to change ground. This was on the 13th; which decided me on commencing those points, for which the presence of the force appeared to me most necessary, *i.e.* first all the settlement for the Company's money [*from Nagar*] and next, the reduction of the [*Nagar*] sibandi. The necessity will possibly be evident to you even from one circumstance, which had been more than once hinted to me as intended if the force marched. The sibandi and particularly the Arabs have considerable arrears due; and if I had been left with the Gaikwad force alone, they would immediately have thrown the Darbar and karbaris into dharna and put a stop to all transactions with the Company's agent. Such stratagems are well known to you, and I therefore need not further elucidate.

22. I therefore, under these impressions and the necessity for the least possible detention of the troops, commenced on the 13th.

23. Having understood from Colonel East and the Pay Department that the average expense of the force was about two lakhs and fifty thousand Rupees a month. I calculated and proposed accordingly. The force under Colonel East had now been from Baroda about 3 months. He left Baroda on the 11th of June, and this was the 13th September. At this rate therefore the Company had been at the probable expense of seven and a half lakhs of Rupees; but I argued that the Company were subject in such transactions to various and heavy contingencies.

24. I accordingly under these considerations proposed another lakh of Rupees. After a little explanation the whole payment to the Company was fixed at 8 lakhs of Rupees and a half (8,50,000). It was determined to depute Motishaw Mulji, the confidential karbari of Sataji and the Bai, to apprise them of the decision, to arrange with them for the due execution of the bond and the necessary securities, and to ascertain finally their wishes in the question of a provision for the Khawases; besides, during his absence it was expected to effect, if possible, the writings of the jamadars for the reduction of their establishments.

25. Motishaw Mulji accordingly went off to Nagar late on the night of the 13th and was to return next day, but did not until late in the evening of the 15th. The 14th and 15th had been closely employed in endeavours to succeed with the jamadars.

26. The evening of the 14th and 15th were spent in useless endeavours to induce the Arabs to hear reason or execute any writing. Jamadar Abdulla was more reasonable, but Amri was contumacious and violent out of all bounds. He more than once quitted my tents with all his Arabs and beating his drum insisted on returning to Nagar. Late in the evening of the 15th Motishaw returned; and as

the jamadars had so far requested that I would not demand a final answer from them until his return, I was sanguine of success from his better intelligence and address.

29. On the afternoon of the 16th, finding I could still obtain no answer, I sent for the Nagar karbari and Sunderji, and explained that however much it might be regretted, the measure must in this case be coerced. It was essential to the best interest and quiet of the Nagar chieftanship and more than essential to the due and uninterrupted realisation of the considerable pecuniary dues of both Governments.

30. I apprehended this remonstrance had the desired effect; for in an hour afterwards the whole repaired to my tent, and in the course of the evening executed and formalised a most ample document.

31. Here then ended the discussions and measures for which the presence of the troops had been absolutely essential; and as the Nagar vakils and Sunderji seemed satisfied that the utmost wishes of their Master had been obtained, I immediately dictated a letter to Colonel East that the troops might march in the evening.

33. The troops accordingly marched on the morning of the 17th towards Wadhwan, and with these views I proceeded in my present state of health to the Diwanji's camp still at Dhrol.

After being threatened with symptoms of returning indisposition I was necessitated to announce my intention of immediately departing; which I did by seven o'clock next evening after the execution of the Company's bond, which being done, was to be sent to Nagar for the signature of the Jam and entrusted to the karbari Motishaw; for that purpose, he was desired to proceed that evening and to return as early as possible.

35. On the night of the 24th Motishaw reached camp at Thana and brought with him the required document duly signed and formalised, with a request and full satisfaction to Sunderji to execute a counterpart bond to Government for the due payment of the money by bills on Baroda, at the stated periods, all delays being liable to the usual rate of interest. He brought with him also the definitive proposed arrangements for the Khawases.

37. I now proceed to detail the proposed arrangements for the Khawases, which have occupied much attention and great discussion particularly with the Nagar party. Suffice it then to say that after much consideration I have particularly desired to offer for the favourable consideration of Government that the Khawases be put in possession of Amran and its appertaining villages and lands in number, I am told, about twelve.

40. Such securities and arrangements for the future conduct of the parties, as Government may decide on, will of course be necessarily enforced, and which, under the ample lesson, afforded these deluded persons, of the fallacy of their past misdeeds, renders it very improbable that, while the influence of the British Government prevails, they will venture to disturb the public peace again.

41. It remains therefore only for me on this subject to say that this arrangement is most acceptable, more than any other, to the Nagar authority, and with reference to the particular instructions of Government to obtain a peaceable surrender, whether the very marked conduct of the Khawases in their immediate surrender of all the places in their possession does not entitle them to the favourable consideration and countenance of Government at this time.

No. 2. Translate of the paper presented to Captain Ballantine by Khawases Sangram, Panchanan Bhavani, Nathu Pragji and Hirji Wankani.

Khawases
plead Our faults may be many, but they are to be pardoned. Should the sarkar in its goodness give us the three forts, for the expenses we will give 11½ lakhs of Rupees; and should the sarkar have regard for us, in everything we shall continue proper. The money above spoken of to be given is as follows.

Should the sarkar favour us by delivering into our possession the three forts, on the same footing as formerly held by us, we will at that time pay down 4 lakhs of Rupees. The remaining 7½ lakhs of Rupees to be delivered in kists in 6 years; every year a payment being made of Rs. 1,25,000. Should not this our request meet the approbation of the sarkar and should it be pleased to give over to us Balambha, we will give 3 lakhs of Rupees, one half of which shall be paid immediately, and the remaining half shall be paid in two kists.

Should not the latter proposal meet the approbation of the sarkar, whatever place it may grant for our maintenance, we will remain in.

No. 3. Translate of contract granted by Jam Jethaji and Kumar Rammalji to Khatri Jetha and Sunderji Sirji, dated 4th Kartik Sudh, 1872.

Farmed to
Shivji The towns of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran, these three places with their parganas, we have given in farm to you for a period of 8 years. You are therefore to enjoy the benefits of the farm. The bond for the payment of the expenses of the services against Jodiya, Balambha and Amran, for the realisation of which you have been given as security, and of which 6½ lakhs of Rupees are to be paid in 6 years by instalments, we have executed with the sarkar. You have consented to make the payments by kists agreeable to the arrangements; for the amount of which you will be partly reimbursed by the rent of your farm; and whatever may be paid by you in liquidation of the Company's dues above the amount agreed upon to be paid by you for the farm of Jodiya, etc., such money shall be returned to you with interest within the period of 8 years; at the end of which time you are to deliver over to us the three forts with their parganas, etc.

To any balance that may remain due to you every year above the sum you may receive from your farm in payment of the Company's kists, we will every year give you a writing for its payment together with interest.

No. 3. MALIA

Camp near Halvad, 24th August, 1814 (1815, P. D. 421)

1814

James McMurdo to James R. Carnac.

Since 1809, when the fort of Malia was destroyed by Lieutenant-Malia Colonel Walker's detachment, that place has never recovered from the losses then sustained; nor have the inhabitants returned to reside in an unprotected town, exposed to the insults of its inveterate enemy, the Morvi Raja. Dosaji, the father of the present boy Sataji, died in 1812; since which time his widow and her son have managed the affairs of the family. During the year of famine some plunderers took up their residence in Malia and committed acts of aggression upon the Morvi villages, which however were in one or two instances retaliated by the Raja of the latter place, and some cattle were carried off by his orders from a Malia village. There is every reason to believe that the plunderers, who resided in Malia, were not countenanced by the Bai, and that she had not the power to control them.

The principal cause of her complaint is the fort of Benal, built by the Morvi-man on his own ground within 2 kos of Malia, where he collected a tax upon goods crossing the Rann, which has hitherto been the property of Malia. This together with some occasional violence, committed on the inhabitants of the latter town, are her chief grievances.

Malia has 4 villages on this side of the Rann, independent of its bhayad, and claims Katariya in Vagad, which Fateh Muhammed wrested from Dosaji 3 years ago. Some of the villages have a jama, payable to the Gaikwad, but it has always been uncertain; and Malia itself, I believe, never acknowledged its claim and is not included in the decennial arrangement of Colonel Walker.

The annual produce of the whole Independency, if under good hands, might perhaps amount to 2,50,000 koris, but at present falls far short of that sum. The taxes levied at Malia on goods crossing the Rann are considerable, and will be much increased when the district of Vagad shall be placed in a state of order, and ultimately [the goods] for Arabia be transported by land carriage, which is preferred to that by sea. The situation of Malia as commanding a pass into Cutch has been much talked of; but, when the Rann becomes passable throughout, it loses much of that importance.

The Bai has visited me on this occasion, and I can discover that from the fear for the Morvi encroachments and the youth of her son originates the wish for the Company's protection; and should the Government reject her petition, it might be gratifying to her to be allowed a couple of your peons to reside in Malia, at her own expense, for some time. The measure does not appear susceptible of inconvenience, whilst it might be the means of the villages being re-peopled and of seeing justice done to a family, which we have been the instrument, however just, of reducing from wealth to indigence. A letter might be addressed by you the Morvi Raja, desiring him to abstain from

improper interference, and the peons might be ordered to be careful; that no improper advantage be taken of their presence.

1815 Baroda, 18th August, 1815 (1815, P.D. 424)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Alliance plan I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 5th of last, desiring that I would submit a plan of an alliance with Malia as should insure protection to the Thakur without exposing the Government to any increased expense.

Letter from James McMurdo to James R. Carnac, dated 8th August.

Advantage of alliance The Bai's great object is to repeople her villages in particular the town of Malia, which is the ancient residence of the family; and until which is fairly established, the people are averse to return to their habitations. The general enmity, which exists towards Malia for its former licentious conduct, intimidates the inhabitants from occupying it in its present open state; and the Bai is on this account particularly desirous of being permitted to rebuild a fort to be garrisoned by British troops; for the payment of which and in consideration of the support thus afforded, she proposed to cede to the Hon'ble Company a share of her revenue equal to six annas per Rupee or even an equal half of her total income.

The revenue of Malia, supposing the whole territory to be re-peopled, would fall little short of one lakh of Rupees. But it would be prudent to calculate on receiving a mere trifle the first year. With a view to the defence of the Rann however as a frontier station and commanding pass, Malia is of the first consideration. I was not so much aware of its advantages in these respects as a twelve months' more experience has made me; and I now feel assured that a respectable detachment of our troops in Malia would have a decided effect not only on the conduct of Vagad but on that of the Cutch Government. The facility, with which the former could be punished for misdemeanour, would certainly operate powerfully on the habits of the people, whilst British troops at so advanced a station, which is considered the key to Cutch, could not fail of producing a favourable effect upon the proceedings of that State.

It is not in my province to judge of the policy or otherwise of the measure; but should it be in contemplation to establish a permanent force in Kathiawar for its defence, no station could be better adopted for that object as affecting Cutch and Vagad than Malia.

Minutes, 30th August.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that Governor-in-Council does not conceive that the present would be proper time to come to decision in respect to Malia.

When the points under discussion with respect to the Government of Cutch shall have been decided, the Governor-in-Council will determine what relief can be given to Malia.

No. 4. OKHAMANDAL

Camp at Wankia, 20th February, 1815 (1815, P. D. 420)

1815

F. D. Ballantine to Captain James R. Carnac.

10. In carrying on this circuit to the western frontier it is in contemplation to effect some decisive arrangements with the Chiefs of Okha, of Beyt, Dwarka and Dhangi. The late excesses, committed by these persons, have not been confined to piracy, but they have lately committed the most daring robberies by land. It is within your knowledge that Malu Maneck lately violated the most solemn engagement concluded with myself and the Gaikwad officers through the respectable medium of Sunderji Sivji, the least essential of which was the due realisation of the Hon'ble Company's demands. The commercial community would have been benefited by the provisions imposed therein, and the Company's Government and individuals provided with a ready means of redress in any case of misdemeanour by the establishment of Sunderji's influence on the spot. Okhamandal

11. From Sunderji's report however it would appear that Mulu Maneck had under the binding nature of these engagements procured some funds for the discharge of the Hon'ble Company's long standing demands, and I believe a sum equal to the payment has been placed in deposit. I would beg respectfully to suggest however, at Sunderji's instigation, that the money should be allowed to remain for the present; its acceptance might preclude in a great measure our further interference for the consummation of the object of the engagements reverted to; besides, it should be kept in mind that Malu Maneck had violated in the most unprincipled manner the most solemn engagements to which he had given his fullest and unequivocal assent.

12. As to Beyt, we shall continue in the same predicament. Sangramji has unremittingly denied any compromise whatever of his dues to the British Government and has tenaciously adhered to the habits of piracy and plunder. It is true our affairs with these persons assume an extreme aspect; but in the opinion of the Gaikwad officers and Sunderji the measure, at present proposed, may be sufficient even to coerce their accomplishment without any accession.

Porbandar, 21st January, 1815 (1815, P. D. 419)

1815

C. W. Elwood, Agent to Government, to J. R. Carnac.

Immediately after reports had spread through this country that the Peshwa's authority was reestablished at Ahmadabad, a band of robbers attacked and plundered five carts, which were proceeding on the road of this taluka about 14 miles from the town of Porbandar. Okha pirates

By the prompt and active exertions of Sunderji Sivji's nephew, Hansraja Jetha, who is acting as kamdar, the plunder was soon discovered to be in the possession of Mulu Maneck, the Chief of Dhangi in the District of Okhamandal. Proper persons were dispatched to Maneck Mulu, to demand the plunder. Hansraja Jetha has no hopes of being able to recover the remaining parts of the plunder himself.

1815 *Bombay, 7th June, 1815 (1815, S. D. 290)*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Against Okha 10. The repeated attempts, which have been made through the personal agency of Sunderji Sivji and the Gaikwad authorities in Kathiawar to induce the Chiefs in question to fulfil their obligations, having failed, no alternative now remains than the advance of the force into the district of Okhamandal, a measure which cannot however be contemplated until after the completion of the service against Jodiya.

11. Experience has proved the entire inefficiency of the arrangements made in 1807 for restraining the habits of the Chiefs of Okhamandal from encouraging piracy and participating in the spoils.

12. The conduct of the agents of Government at Beyt and the piratical ports of Armara, Dwarka, and Positra have entirely disappointed the expectation of the Governor-in-Council. The Governor-in-Council is therefore desirous that an inquiry should be made into the mode in which their agency has been conducted and of the cause of its failure, and a report be made to him on the subject, that he may determine what may be proper to be done respecting them.

13. I am now to acquaint you that it is the intention of Government to propose to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General the conquest of province of Okhamandal; and you will in consequence submit to the Governor-in-Council a plan for the establishment and maintenance of our authority in Okhamandal upon a scale its revenues may be capable of defraying without subjecting the Hon'ble Company to any expense from the proposed acquisition, setting apart a suitable allowance for the support and the maintenance of the Chiefs, who may be thus disposed of their authority.

14. The Governor-in-Council is aware that the island of Beyt is a place held in great veneration by the Hindus, to which numerous pilgrims resort, whose prejudices and religious feelings it is the anxious desire of the Government rigidly to respect; and in considering that part of the subject you will submit an arrangement for the realisation of the revenue from the pagoda on that island in such manner as may in your opinion be consistent with the established usages and customs of the natives without imposing on them any additional burdens.

1815 *Bombay, 7th June, 1815 (1815, S. D. 290)*

Sir Evan Nepean to the Governor-General.

Kathiawar affairs The conquest of Okhamandal has long been contemplated by this Government and has been so strongly urged on the consideration of the Hon'ble Court and on the Supreme Government that we deem it only necessary to forward to Your Lordship a copy of the correspondence which has taken place on the subject as exhibiting the fullest information of the grounds on which that recommendation is founded.

The conciliatory measures, which have for a series of years been pursued for the suppression of piracy from the ports of Okhamandal,

have entirely failed of success. By forming our establishment in Okhamandal we should have it in our power to check the piratical habits of the inhabitants of the numerous ports and creeks on the coasts of the Sind of Cutch and Makran.

We cannot encourage Your Lordship to expect that the province of Okhamandal can be retained without augmenting the military establishment of this Presidency. One additional battalion would however in our opinion be the utmost extent of increase required, the expense of which and of the civil establishments to be formed in consequence would be more than defrayed by the amount of the revenues to be derived from those possessions.

Fategarh, 8th July, 1815 (1815, S. D. 290)

1815

The Governor-General to Bombay.

On general principles we are certainly entitled to take measures *Against* for the security of our subjects and trade against the depredations of *Okha* professed freebooters and pirates and, if other means shall fail, to destroy their power by seizing their possessions. From your statement it appears that the engagements, made with the Chiefs of Beyt and Dwarka in 1808 by Colonel Walker, have been violated. Under such circumstances we may be considered to have acquired the right above stated in its full extent, the degree in which it is to be exercised being to be regulated by our own views of policy and expediency.

It appears from the extract from the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors under date the 1st of April, 1807, that the Hon'ble Court of Directors gave its assent to the proposed occupation of Beyt, though not without evident reluctance and expressly in the event only of it being found impracticable by measures of a less extreme nature to suppress the depredations of the pirates. The conclusion of the arrangement, effected by Colonel Walker, superseded for the time the necessity of acting on the conditional authority of the orders above referred to; but the infraction of the engagements then contracted may be considered to restore the operation of those orders to their original force.

On these grounds then I request you to consider yourself to be authorised to enter on the proposed system of measures for the reduction and occupation of Okhamandal, when the force, employed against Jodiya, Amran and Balambla, shall be disengaged.

Baroda, 5th August, 1815 (1815, S. D. 291)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In reference to your dispatch, dated the 7th of June last, calling *Plan* upon me to submit a plan for the establishment and maintenance of the Hon'ble Company's authority in Okhamandal, I have the honour respectfully to offer the following observations to the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Having completed his plans for the final occupation of the country, the commanding officer should be instructed, in concert with the authority from this Residency, to assure the several Chieftains that

the Hon'ble Company will make a suitable provision for their maintenance, and especially to satisfy the officiating Brahmans and others at the temple of Dwarka and Beyt, that they will be protected in the free exercise of the rites of their profession, and that no revenue or contributions will be required from them or pilgrims resorting [thither] conformally to former usage; and finally that the British Government has no intention of interfering with the religious worship, customs or opinions of the Hindus, while they conduct themselves with fidelity to the State and maintain the peace and good order of society.

It should also be a primary object with the commanding officer to appoint guards at the several places of religious resort. Those guards should invariably be selected from the superior caste in the force; and it should be their prescribed duty to prevent all intrusion within the sacred limits, except by those Hindus, whose caste admit them to the privilege. The guards ought also to see that all the intentions of the commanding officer are scrupulously carried into effect. These observations are offered in the conception that no resistance will be made by the Chieftains of Okhamandal.

In the event of resistance, circumstances will point out to the discretion of the commanding officer the most eligible mode of effecting these important objects; and all that appears practicable in this case is to bring them to his notice as measures which Government view with considerable anxiety, and require him to execute with punctual attention.

It will for a short time be necessary to retain a larger force in Okhamandal than what will eventually be required to keep it in subjection, until a final adjustment for the administration of the country, till the Chiefs are convinced that the good faith of the British Government will be maintained in assigning them a suitable provision, and until the religious orders experience the protection which will be extended by the Government of the Company to their property, and persons, and in the free and uncontrolled exercise of their religious avocations.

It appears to me on general considerations that it might be politic to demolish those fortifications in the country, which it may be useless for us to occupy in a military point of view, reserving at all events the fort of Beyt itself (which is represented as a respectable place of defence) on account of sacred temples being within its walls.

In order to provide temporarily for the administration of the affairs of the country I would also suggest my Assistant, or such other authority as may be appointed by Government, be instructed to take measures (without involving our pledge for the continuance of the same) that will tend to secure those objects in a way most consonant to established usages and the feelings and prejudices of the natives.

With a view also of enabling the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to frame a system for the future government of this territory, it is my intention to instruct my Assistant in Kathiawar to transmit without delay a particular and detailed report of the resources of the

country during the last 5 years. I would also call his attention to the intentions of Government in favour of the several Chiefs and request his opinion on the extent of the provision which it may be necessary to make for their maintenance.

In connection with this subject, the resources, which under an improved system may be derived from the soil, are deserving of particular consideration. The district of Okhamandal is doubtless susceptible of great improvement, and particularly in the branch of agriculture.

The occupation of the country by the Hon'ble Company will compel the people to renounce their irregular habits, and the absence of the means derived from piracy must lead the inhabitants to look to the earth for supplying their wants.

Policy dictates, that the income of the Chiefs from government should leave scope for the exertions of their own industry, especially when it is in their power, by the cultivation of the extensive waste tracts in the district, to increase their comforts. It will probably be desirable that one of the first acts of the Company's Government, on assuming the administration of Okhamandal, should be a formal resignation of all claims of this nature. It will stimulate the industry of the people, when conscious of security of property unknown in preceding times, and will prove the means of contributing to the maintenance of the Chiefs.

With a view of promoting this object, and of rendering the reduction of the country less burdensome, my Assistant might also be required to report the probable expense which might be occasioned by removing the jungle of bawal wood, with which the face of the country is covered. It prevents the extension of cultivation, and invites the retreat of the disorderly and licentious. The bawal wood is applied in manufacture of various implements of husbandry and eagerly sought after by native States for the construction of wheel and gun carriages. The trees, which would not answer for such purposes, might be burnt on the spot for charcoal and taken for sale to Surat or Bombay.

In the estimates of the revenues of Beyt no item on account of customs on imports has been observable; but I have no reason to believe that imports are exempted from duty, either by sea or land. I conclude that no inconsiderable sum is realisable from this omitted source and from taxes on the artisans of the towns.

The endowments of the temples will of course form a subject of particular inquiry. I am inclined to think these endowments fall far short of former times, but they chiefly contribute to the expenses of the temples; and if their tenures will admit of the management being assumed by Government, their proceeds will in every likelihood exceed any amount which they have hitherto yielded. The system observed in the collection of the tax from pilgrims will also form an important object of investigation.

The administration of justice and the establishment of an efficient police are likewise subjects demanding deliberate consideration.

after meeting and some consultation they came to Gopi Talao; they then sent for Meghraj, and told him that the English troops were coming into that quarter, and that they would most likely also enter Okhamandal, and therefore they demanded to know from him whether he would join them or not. Meghraj answered that, when misfortune befel his house, no one came to his assistance; that he was placed in his station by the sarkar, and that he would remain so; he would not join them. They said, if that was his determination, they would not spare him. He told them that he was also a Rajput. Meghraj wrote this and sent it for your information.

Bombay minutes, 22nd August.

Ordered that Captain Carnac will communicate through Sunderji *Approval* Sivji to the Chief of Positra the satisfaction the Governor-in-Council has received from his proceedings as reported by Captain Ballantine and to assure him that he will not be unmindful of his conduct.

Porbandar, 3rd January, 1816 (1816, P. D. 427)

1816

C. W. Elwood to James R. Carnac.

1. I have the honour to communicate the enclosed information *Pirates in* regarding the residence of pirates on Okhamandal and the acts of *Okha* piracy which they have lately committed.

2. Previous to the last monsoon I was informed that Husain Nurudin had been invited to live on Okhamandal by Rana Sangramji of Beyt; and by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I acquainted the Rana that the Governor-in-Council looked to him for the security of the pirate Husain Nurudin, and that in the event of his failing in his engagements he would be subjected to all the consequences resulting from a breach of treaty.

3. I am now informed that Husain Nurudin is at sea in a small boat on the Cutch coast, and it is supposed he is the person who lately sent the two captured boats into Beyt.

4. I fear it is but too evident from the nature of the enclosed information that Rana Sangramji is an abettor of the Okhamandal pirates, otherwise they would not have run their prizes on shore on the island of Beyt, neither would the Rana have released them, nor made the evasive and disrespectful answer which he did to Sunderji's agent.

5. Vassi is a small village about 4 kos inland from Dwarka, it is now evidently a nest of pirates. I am informed that by Colonel Walker's arrangements for Okhamandal, Vassi was considered as under the control of Dwarka, but the Dwarka-man, Mulu Maneck, evasively states that the village now resists his controlling authority, although it is well known that it does not possess any defence.

6. In the absence of a military controlling authority such as Col. Walker possessed on Okhamandal in 1809, the Chieftains of that country are regardless of the British Power and of the existing treaty with its Government.

7. I am consequently apprehensive that, unless it may be practicable to impose an effectual check on Okhamandal, that remote corner

conquest, to the Gaikwad under the terms specified in your dispatch; and though the acquisition might not be profitable, it was peculiarly grateful to this Government to introduce its authority into the district from the high veneration in which the Gunti pilgrimage is held by the Hindu people.

Baroda, 31st December, 1816 (1817, P. D. 434)

1816

Abstract of Okhamandal revenue.

Dr.....	Cr.....	Balance.	Revenue
40,901-2-78.	9,92-0-42.	31,809-2-36.	

Bombay, 1st January, 1817 (1817, P. D. 431)

1817

Sir Evan Nepean to the Earl of Moira.

We have the honour of [informing] Your Lordship that he [the Resident of Baroda] has at length succeeded in effecting an exchange of the pargana of Vijapur for districts of territory in the neighbourhood of Kaira and Surat. *Cession of Okha*

Your Lordship is already aware that an arrangement to this effect has long been an object contemplated by the Hon'ble the Court; and the positive refusal of His Highness Fatesing a few months since to adhere to his promise of affording this accommodation to us had induced us to abandon the idea of recommending the transfer of Okhamandal to his authority.

In effecting the exchange of Vijapur Captain Carnac concluded an arrangement with the Gaikwad Government for the introduction of its authority into that province and the adjoining island of Beyt.

Considering the very objectionable line of conduct which had for some time before been manifested by His Highness Fatesing, we took the liberty of observing to Your Lordship that Okhamandal might be retained by the British Government without exposing the Hon'ble Company to any expense for the maintenance of its civil and military establishment; but weighing all the circumstances, especially the change which appears to have taken place in the disposition of His Highness under a conviction, we should hope, of his having seen the impropriety of his past conduct, we feel no difficulty in subscribing to the opinion of Your Lordship-in-Council that the best arrangement to be made for the disposal of the province of Okhamandal will be that of transferring it to the Gaikwad Government.

Under the views we have thus taken, we submit for the sanction of Your Lordship-in-Council the propriety of transferring Okhamandal with the island of Beyt to the Gaikwad Government; and that no time may be lost in carrying the measure into execution, we shall instruct the Resident at Baroda to prepare the draft of a treaty for that purpose, which, when received, will be submitted to Your Lordship-in-Council for your confirmation.

Bombay, 17th April, 1817 (1817, P. D. 435)

1817

Minutes.

Resolved that the Resident at Baroda be informed that in negotiating an engagement for the transfer of Okhamandal to the Gaikwad *Opium trade*

Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsheer Bahadur, his heirs and successors in perpetuity; and the Maharaja Senakhaskhel Bahadur promises to allow in perpetuity a place or appropriate building from the buildings on the island of Beyt to the Hon'ble Company for the depositing of stores, free of any claims for tax or otherwise; and consents that all vessels, boats, servants, subjects etc., belonging to the Hon'ble Company, as may frequent any of the ports and places in the province in question, shall pass and repass without hindrance. The Maharaja moreover promises that the person, who will reside in charge of the Hon'ble Company's stores, shall meet with no molestation whatever, and be treated with all due consideration.

Article 3rd: Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsheer Bahadur, being very desirous of meeting the wishes of the Hon'ble Company, and with a view to improve and increase the strong ties of friendship subsisting between the two Governments, has agreed by virtue of this article that no opium shall be allowed to pass the custom houses or chaukis in the territory of the Gaikwad to its seaports; for this purpose every precaution will be used. In order therefore to promote the foregoing wishes of the Hon'ble Company, orders will be issued that, if any opium is found in the vessels of any of the subjects of Senakhaskhel Samsheer Bahadur, the said vessel with its goods shall be seized; or if any subject who may attempt personally or by means of others to export opium from the territory of Senakhaskhel, on being discovered, will be treated according to the opinion of the Hon'ble Company. The Maharaja also binds himself, his heirs and successors to make every practicable arrangement to prevent opium from being carried through the limits of the territory of the Gaikwad to any seaports in Gujarat, belonging to other Powers.

Minutes, 17th July, 1817.

Ordered that the receipt of the preceding dispatch be acknowledged, and that Captain Carnac be informed that the additional articles contained in the draft accompanying his letter should be embodied in the commercial treaty to be negotiated with the Gaikwad Government.

NO. 5 RAJPIPLA

Baroda, 15th December, 1815 (1816 P. D. 427)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

[Summary]. Letter from the Resident at Baroda, describing the confusion and anarchy which has prevailed in the State and accounting for the depredations which have been committed in the neighbouring districts. That Vithoba Bhau has been deputed for the purpose of settling *settling* *affairs* arranging its affairs. Having correspondence with this person and a memorandum obtained from him detailing his proceedings. That an agreement had been entered into with Partapsing and Narsing for the surrender of Rajpipla to the Gaikwad troops, whilst the claims of the two parties to the gadi are to be referred to arbitration. The country to be held by the Gaikwad, until the dispute is adjusted and the Gaikwad expenses paid.

Forwarding statements of the Gaikwad's demands on the Rajpipla State, stating that the Gaikwad Government agreed to the withholding of the tora gras until our subjects are indemnified for their losses, and that he is in expectation of this tora gras being commuted by an exchange of Vijapur pargana.

1820 *Baroda, 4th October, 1820 (1820, P. D. 486)*

J. Willoughby Assistant, to James Williams, Acting Resident.

Succession

I have the honour to inform you that in pursuance of your directions I have carefully and minutely examined the evidence produced both on the part of Narsing as well as on that of Partapsing in support of their respective claims for the succession of the Chieftainship of Rajpipla; the result of which examination has not made me in any degree differ from the opinion expressed in your letter to Government, dated the 24th of May last, in which you state that from the inquiries you had at that time instituted, from the documents which had been presented to you by Narsing, you were inclined to view his claims in the most favourable light.

No. 6 VAGAD

1814 *Bombay, 15th March, 1814 (1814 S. D. 286)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Diwanji
complaints*

I request you will submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying translate of extracts from a letter addresses to me by Vithalrao Diwanji, the Gaikwad sarsubah of Kathiawar. It will be observed that the activity of the troops in that country had been exerted to prevent encouragement or protection being given to the marauders from Vagad,¹ and that a severe example has been already made.

It is a reflection, which must be considered very distressing, that measures of the severity adverted to in the enclosure have been executed under circumstances of much temptation to the parties who have been punished. The infliction of this punishment, though expedient on every principle of policy and justice, was a measure, I fear, arising out of the state of criminality brought forward by the unavoidable impunity with which the depredations from Vagad have been committed for a length of time. Our public engagements with the State of Cutch have precluded the adoption of any measures against the Vagad depredators, which had a chance of producing an useful or permanent effect; for it is proved by long experience that the partial punishment of these people in the act of plundering within the Gaikwad boundaries has not detained them from following their occupations and leaves every reasonable ground to conclude that, until they are pursued to their haunts and annihilated, or till adequate securities are obtained on the spot, Kathiawar will still suffer from these melancholy excesses.

¹ Popularly the province of Cutch is divided into seven districts: Lavar, Garda Pathak, Abdasa, Kunda, Kantha or Kanthi, Miyani and Vagad, occupying the peninsula in the east. *Gaz. Bomb. Pres., Vol. V, p. 2.*

The anxiety of the Diwanji to acquire orders on this subject, as it is connected with the political relations of the British Government, will bear some testimony to the ravages experienced; but I have authority for asserting that, besides numerous other acts of atrocity, these excesses have within the last twelve months laid in ruins sixty villages.

I beg leave respectfully to solicit the commands of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Translated extract of a letter from Vithalrao Diwanji, dated Amreli, 13th of Rabial-awal.

Just at that time the thieves of Vagad began to be again troublesome. Having received information that Karunaji, the Thakur of Kumaria in the Malia district, yielded them an asylum and assisted them in their depredations, he (Govindrao) marched during the night to attack them. Karunaji, on their approach, shut the gates of the fort and opened a fire of musketry, by which our troops suffered a loss of 4 or 5 men and horses wounded. Govindrao ordered an assault, which terminated in the occupation of the place and the death of Karunaji, who was shot. Govindrao, having razed the fortifications to the ground, withdrew. *Vagad raiders-*

I shall be prepared to act as you may determine; but I cannot help bringing again to your attention the miserable condition of this country from the famine; and that, if the remains of population are to be harassed by these robbers, it will go entirely to ruin, and my Government lose much. I therefore entreat that whatever orders you may consider it expedient to give, may be immediately sent. I am extremely anxious for an answer.

Bombay, 20th March, 1814 (1814, P. D. 438)

1814

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to submit copy of a dispatch from Lieutenant McMurdo with its enclosure, being a translate of a letter to that officer's address from our native agent at Bhuj. *Vagad raiders*

This communication is satisfactory by exhibiting that the Jamadar Husain Miya [*Fateh Muhammad's son*] is desirous of maintaining friendship with the British Government. It is pleasing also to observe that Husain Miyan is anxious to restrain the depredations which have so long been committed from Vagad in the Gaikwad dominions; as connected with which subject, the present dispatch from Lieutenant McMurdo solicits instructions.

No. 1. Letter from James McMurdo to James R. Carnac, dated Camp on the Muchhu River, 6th March, 1814.

I have the honour to transmit for your information a translate of a letter from the native agent at Bhuj. From the tenor of this address it would seem to be the desire of the Jamadar Husain Miyan to avail himself of the co-operation of the Gaikwad troops in punishing the Vagad banditti; and as I have no direct instructions on this subject, I take the liberty to request that I may be furnished with such as may appear necessary. *Need of action*

No. 2. Letter from Rajashwar Bajirao, native agent at Bhuj, to Lieutenant McMurdo, dated 24th February, 1814.

Husain Miyan ready At a meeting which I had with Jamadar Husain Miyan, I explained to him according to your orders the object of my visit; and having detailed the points on which an explanation was expected, I expressed the desire of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to preserve the same friendly terms on which the two Darbars had so long been. Husain Miyan listened attentively to what I said, and afterwards replied that the late Jamadar [*Fateh Muhammad*] had maintained a sincere alliance with the Hon'ble Company, and that, God willing, no interruption should take place, as his views were the same as those of his father. The different points of business are discussing, and search is making for Husain Nakwa, the pirate.

No. 3. President's minutes, 25th March.

Orders Resolved that instructions be issued to the commanding officer of the forces to direct a force equal to 600 rank and file of His Majesty's 56th Regiment to be held in readiness for eventual service, and to the Resident at Baroda to detach 1,000 of the troops subsidised by the Gaikwad to Kathiawar to reinforce the Diwanji with the view of co-operating in the defence of His Highness's territories against the incursions of the freebooters from Vagad, holding 500 more of the subsidiary force with a detachment of artillery men in readiness with their proportions of laskars to proceed eventually.

1814 *Camp at Halvad, 26th May, 1814 (1814, P. D. 413)*

James McMurdo to Captain James R. Carnac.

Vagad banditti It is with regret that I have to inform you of another inroad of the *raiders* from Vagad, which took place on the 14th instant. A body of 60 infantry, 4 horsemen and 2 camels crossed the Rann at night (though full of water) near Malia, and succeeded in carrying off some cattle and property of the village of Phugasias of the Morvi bhayad. They were however pursued, and part of the plunder recovered. It is supposed that they came from Bela, where about 2,000 men, consisting of all the depredators of Vagad, are now assembled.

1815 *Baroda, 2nd January, 1815 (1815, S. D. 289)*

James R. Carnac to Lieutenant Colonel Carden.

Troops to more The advance of a large body of troops under a Chief, named Ram Din, to the neighbourhood of Gujarat on its eastern frontier, and some suspicions being created of the intentions of this force from other circumstances, Colonel Holmes has given it as his opinion that the detail of His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons and the Grenadier battalion should join the field-force under his command assembled at this station without delay.

I beg leave in consequence to request that you will have the goodness to order the troops above mentioned to march with all convenient dispatch.

Bombay, 7th January, 1815 (1815, S. D. 289)

1815

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

The latest advices, received by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General from the Court of Sindia, are so calculated to excite suspicion of his real views and intentions as to render it necessary that every measure of precaution should be adopted, which may be suitable to the crisis of affairs, which may speedily arrive; and I have in consequence received the commands of Governor-in-Council to instruct you to direct the concentration and advance of the troops ordered to be prepared for service to such a position near the frontier, as may enable them to act with promptitude and effect against the possessions of Daulatrao Sindia in that quarter, in the event of a rupture with that Chieftain. *Sindia suspected*

I have it further in command to desire that you will call on the Gaikwad Government to hold in readiness the contingent, which the Government is bound by treaty to furnish for service, as far as the limits of a territory of that State.

I am directed to desire that you will communicate with the Gaikwad Government as soon as possible and endeavour to make some arrangement for obtaining the services of a part of the Gaikwad horse to be employed, if necessary, beyond the limits of His Highness's dominions. The extent of this corps must in some degree be regulated by the number of those available from the 17th Dragoons and bear some proportion to the number of infantry to be eventually employed.

You will communicate to me for the information of the Governor-in-Council the arrangements you may make with the Gaikwad Government for the eventual employment of this corps as soon as possible, that His Excellency the Governor-General may be apprised of the extent of the means to be resorted to in the event of hostilities occurring.

P.S.—In the event of its being decided not to send a battalion to the Rann, you will of course concert arrangements with the Gaikwad Government for defending that frontier by the troops of His Highness.

Baroda, 18th January, 1815 (1815, S.D. 289)

1815

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I had yesterday the honour to acquaint you that the arrangement for securing the services of a body of Gaikwad troops with the force in the field would shortly be communicated for the information of Government. *Gaikwad help of 2000 men*

I took an early opportunity of having an interview with His Highness Fatesing on the the subject of his ordering a proportion of cavalry and infantry to join Colonel Holmes in his present position. His Highness expressed his readiness to conform to the stipulations of the treaty on this point and, in the event of circumstances leading the British Government beyond the limits of his territories, to increase the force to the utmost extent in his power.

On discussing the measures to be pursued for the protection of Kathiawar from irruptions by the Vagad banditti, His Highness remarked that, however much we must lament the incurrence of new expenses under the embarrassed condition of the Gaikwad finances, still he concurred in my observation that, when our troops were engaged in the prosecution of objects of importance, which affected his interests as well as ours from the intimate alliance subsisting between the two Governments, it was only reasonable that he should exert his own means for preventing the depredations from the Cutch frontier, and [would forego] all claims, for the present, arising out of our obligations in such cases to his Government.

The accomplishment of this subject, His Highness observed, required an augmentation to his cavalry of 400 men, which he would enter upon specifically for the execution of the duty on the western frontier; and he hoped with confidence that, when it would be in our power to attend to the injuries already sustained from Vagad, the charges now about to be incurred would receive consideration.

Bombay resolution.

Approval Ordered that Captain Carnac be at the same time directed to take the earliest opportunity of informing Fatesing that the Governor-in-Council has great satisfaction in observing the readiness which His Highness has manifested to co-operate in the support of our mutual interests.

That it is hoped that the measure His Highness has adopted with the view to the security of the western frontier, though not altogether effectual, may tend to check in some degree the depredations of the banditti of Vagad; and that we trust the time is not far distant when we shall be enabled, not only to punish those delinquencies, but to prevent their future occurrence.

No. 4. SUPPLEMENTAL TREATY

After the Baroda-Poona quarrels, either political or financial, had been settled by the treaty of July 1817 with the Peshwa, the British authorities expected to be rewarded for having rendered such a useful service to the Gaikwad. They should have liked the Gaikwad rights in Kathiawar to be ceded to them; but, as the Gaikwad did not want to comply with this request, the farm of Ahmadabad was accepted instead, rather grudgingly by the Bombay Government, but quite willingly by the Governor-General.

DOCUMENTS

1817 *Bombay*, 25th June, 1817 (1817, P.D.)

Sir Eian Nepean to the Marquis of Hastings.

Bombay demands 3. The radical change, which this treaty¹ will create in Gujarat and in Kathiawar by an exclusion of the Peshwa's influence from those

1. The Treaty of 1817. See Aitchison, Vol. VI, pp. 65-71.

provinces, and the great advantages which it confers on the Gaikwad State in particular, involve considerations of such magnitude, affecting the relations of this Government with the Gaikwad State, that I feel it our duty to submit to His Lordship's consideration the objects which appeared to us essential to be provided for in transferring to the Gaikwad Government the valuable concessions, which have been secured to it under that treaty.

4. As a proof of his friendship and as a testimony of the sense of the benefit which the Gaikwad had received from the Hon'ble Company's support His Highness ceded so early as 1802 as a free gift the districts of Chorasi¹ and Chikhli, the chauth of Surat, and the fort and dependent villages of Kaira, which yielded about 2,50,000 Rupees per Annum.

5. His Highness also subsidised under a treaty of general defensive alliance a permanent force of 3,000, Native Infantry with one company of European artillery, and their proportion of gun-lascars with the necessary ordnance, ammunition etc.; for the regular payment of which, territory was ceded yielding an annual revenue of Rupees 11,70,000.

6. The benefits which the Gaikwad State has derived since the interposition of our authority in the management of its affairs, as they have been realised under the control of the Supreme Government, are fully known to Your Lordship, but it may not be unimportant to [detail] the prominent effects which have resulted to the Gaikwad from the alliance.

7. The Gaikwad personally and the Administration itself were, as the first act of the alliance, relieved from the oppression of foreign mercenaries, the Government having been actually usurped by an Arab aristocracy.

The finances were in a state of complete insolvency. The revenues yielded Rs. 55,00,000, and the expenditure aggregated Rs. 82,00,000; which threatened to sink the whole State beyond the remotest prospect of recovery.

The Government in fact was represented by Col. Walker "to be absolutely in that state of weakness and disorder that it must dissolve without our support. The confusion of authorities and the misery that was the consequence to the people could hardly be conceived. Nothing but irregularity prevailed everywhere, and with an immens revenue the Administration laboured under the greatest poverty. The payment of every department was in arrears, and the country deeply mortgaged to money-lenders, who preyed upon its revenues and exhausted its resources."

By the operation of the reforms, introduced under our superintendence in every branch of its establishment, the expenditure of the State has been reduced to an economical scale and falls short of its receipts.

¹ Chorasi was not ceded in recognition of British support. See *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

Its finances, from the large advances made by the British Government, comparatively at a moderate rate of interest, and the loans, raised under its guarantee, have been extricated out of the control of the moneyed men.

The disaffected and dispersed branches of the family, who were in a state of rebellion against the Government, have been reclaimed and restored to their allegiance.

Its pecuniary claims on Kathiawar, the realisation of which was contingent and exposed to great hazard and expense, and which were five years in arrears on our assuming the management, have been fixed and acknowledged as a permanent tribute by the Chieftains, the payments for the future secured, and the destructive mulukgiri circuits formerly made for their realization, dispensed with.

8. From these arrangements the Gaikwad has in the course of a few years been enabled to liquidate, not only a debt to the Company to the amount of upwards of £8,00,000 with interest at 9 per cent., but has effected such reduction also in the loans raised under our guarantee as to contemplate a complete emancipation from all encumbrances within the period of the next two years.¹

9. If we advert to the means applied to realise those advantages, it will be found that we have been obliged to contribute aid in addition to the subsidiary force for their attainment, which has involved us in no [in] considerable expense; and we may venture to assert that, independent of those instances, in which we have called for compensation, not from the Gaikwad, but his tributaries, the British Government has been exposed to expensive equipments for the general protection of His Highness's interests in Gujarat and Kathiawar, which it was bound by no obligation to incur, and very remotely connected with the security of our own rights and interests. If to these considerations be added the expenses of the field-establishment, we have so frequently formed for the protection of Gujarat against foreign attacks and for the promotion of the general welfare, of which the Gaikwad has borne a most inadequate proportion, all doubt upon the great disproportion of military charge which we have borne, compared with that of the expenses incurred by the Gaikwad, will be removed.

10. Setting aside however a comparison of the relative benefits of the alliance for the past, it is of importance to review the interest of the Gaikwad States for the future under the operation of the treaty of Poona, in order that the expense necessary for the protection of Gujarat and of Kathiawar may be proportionately and equitably regulated.

11. The advantages, which the Gaikwad will derive from the treaty of Poona are of a nature and to an extent exceeding what the expectations of His Highness could have contemplated, as they have certainly surpassed even those which we had formed. Estimating, as we do, that the farm of Ahmadabad will more than enable the

¹ See *11 Sayajirao, Financial Puzzle*, where this statement is shown to be incorrect.

Gaikwad to pay the future tribute of four lakhs of Rupees, in addition to the rent of four and a half lakhs, the Gaikwad will, independently of the great political advantages he acquires, benefit in a pecuniary point of view to the extent of about 21,00,000 Rupees.

13. By the statement accompanying Captain Carnac's report, dated the 6th of February [there was for the years 1813-1816] an annual excess of revenue to the amount of Rs. 8,19,609

If the expenditure were to be confined within the limits fixed by Col. Walker in 1808, there would be a further saving of Rs. 6,97,597

The annual excess of revenue will be Rs. 15,17,206

If to that sum be added the estimated profit from the farm of Ahmadabad Rs. 4,57,465

The future surplus resources may be taken at Rs. 19,74,671

14. For the security of those interests the Gaikwad maintains a military establishment, including the subsidiary force, at an annual charge of Rupees 42,00,000. But a reference to the description of the force maintained and to the little support we have derived from its co-operation, will satisfy Your Lordship how totally inadequate it is to the protection of the Country.

15. The strength of the Gaikwad force was fixed in 1808 at [horse and foot] 11,645 which is maintained at an expense of Rs. 24,000,23.

17. Notwithstanding a force apparently so efficient and so well distributed, it has been found incapable of protecting the Gaikwad territories even against banditti, of curbing the rising power of the Chieftains of Kathiawar, or of collecting the tribute without the co-operation of a British force. Extensive and serious depredations have desolated parts of Kathiawar and of the Gaikwad territories in Gujarat. To check those daring outrages, which threatened to extend to the British territories, the expedition of Cutch and Vagad was undertaken, the expense of which to the Company has exceeded twelve lakhs of Rupees, while 3,418 horse and 1,430 foot assigned to the protection of Kathiawar was a force more than adequate to that purpose, if well applied.

18. Though those depredations have been considerably checked since the expedition to Cutch, yet the northern and western frontiers of Gujarat in particular have continued in a state of alarm, and Ahmadabad even threatened. Various detachments of our troops have been constantly moving for the protection of different parts of the country on the appearance of banditti, which annually swell the disbursements of Presidency, the Gaikwad being fearful to venture on the renewal of securities for the peaceable conduct even from his own subjects without our assistance.

19. The whole responsibility then for the security of Gujarat and of Kathiawar against external attack and internal commotion devolves

on the British Government. The expense we incur for those purposes will be found to equal that of the Gaikwad, while we derive a revenue, including the cessions under the treaty of Poona, of about thirty lakhs of Rupees less.

20. Under these impressions we have no hesitation in pronouncing the whole of the Gaikwad force to be a useless and burdensome establishment.

24. It appears to us that, if the Gaikwad were to be required in consideration to the benefits he will derive from the treaty of Poona, and to those advantages he has already obtained, to maintain an additional battalion of native infantry and two regiments of cavalry as an augmentation to the subsidiary force, it would not be more than commensurate to the extent of his rights and the value of his interests in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and that augmentation could be made without impairing his resources in any degree by a corresponding reduction in his own military establishment.

25. Even under this arrangement the Gaikwad State will be in an improved condition on a comparison with its former relations as a branch of the Maratha Confederacy, by which he was bound to contribute an annual payment of ... Rs. 11,60,000

To which, add the net profit from the farm, as above estimated ... Rs. 4,57,465

Total amelioration Rs. 16,07,465

A Native battalion of one thousand men would cost on field-allowances .. Rs. 2,60,000

Two Regiments of native cavalry estimated at .. 9,00,000

Rs. 11,60,000

Excess of benefit Rs. 4,47,465.

Independently of the saving to be effected from the proposed reduction in its military establishment, which ought to be made to the extent of the additional subsidy, and would reduce the military establishment of the Gaikwad to about 12 lakhs per annum.

26. Hence the Gaikwad Government appears to us to be fully capable of maintaining a force, which with the British troops in Gujarat will be sufficient for every purpose of internal security, out of the advantages resulting to it from treaty of Poona, and possess at the same time an annual income beyond its expenditure. His Highness should therefore, we submit, be also bound under the modified treaty to furnish a contingent in the event of war, or the subsidiary force, with the exception of one battalion to remain for the protection of the Gaikwad and his capital, and be available to cooperate with a British force in any offensive operation beyond the boundaries of Gujarat, within which the co-operation of the subsidiary force is confined by the existing treaty.

28. Should Your Lordship concur in the expediency of augmenting the subsidiary force at Baroda, it would be a primary object with

us to obtain the Gaikwad share of that tribute and of his rights in Kāthiawar, which would nearly suffice for the payment of the additional force, or the amount could be annually paid in cash on the principle provided for in the treaty of Berar, instead of requiring any further dismemberment of the Gaikwad territories, should Captain Carnac experience any difficulty in obtaining the cessions in Kathiawar.

30. The province of Kathiawar, from its command of many excellent sea-ports, its vicinity to Cutch and Sind, and from its valuable internal resources, is important in a military and political point of view; and the transfer by the Chieftains of the administration and defence of the country to the British Government would complete the chain of defence and consolidate its power and influence in the western division of its empire in India. The advantages of such an influence have been forcibly described by Colonel Walker, who had the fullest opportunities of judging of its productions and of its natural strength.

31. The exclusion of the Peshwa's authority from Gujarat will enable us also to negotiate, under Your Lordship's sanction, a commercial treaty with the Gaikwad, as contemplated in the 17th article of the treaty of Baroda, on the principles of the treaties of Oudh and Hyderabad. We anticipate the greatest advantages from such a treaty. The commerce of Gujarat is depressed by various heavy and vexatious duties and exactions to which it is liable in its transit through the territory. The consolidation and simplification of those duties would afford relief and facilities to the commercial and agricultural resources of the country, of which it stands much in need. The advantages that would result from a uniform system for regulating the internal duties, could be proportioned on equitable principles between the two Governments.

33. These suggestions have been dictated, Your Lordship may rest assured, by no views of aggrandisement, nor by motives prejudicial to the prosperity and independency of our ally, the Gaikwad. The experience we have had of the resources of that State, its system of management, of the character of the Sovereign, of his eventual successor, and of its official servants, has impressed us with a firm conviction, which it is our duty not to conceal from Your Lordship, that the Administrations, unassisted by our support and control, is wholly incapable of preserving the power and respectability of the State; and that the moment we relinquish the active and efficient supervision, which we have for so many years exercised over its internal affairs, from that period we may calculate on a renewal of those disgraceful intrigues and peculations, the destructive operations of which obliged the minister to seek the protection of the British Power. No measure would so rapidly and so effectually throw the whole of Gujarat into our possession as an entire and absolute withdrawal of our control over the affairs of the Gaikwad. Such an event it can neither be the wish nor the policy of the British Government to promote. On the contrary, it must be its interest to render that State a useful and efficient ally. But that important object can never be obtained as long as the constitution of the military establishment of

the Gaikwad, composed of many valuable materials, is allowed to continue with all the characteristics of a burdensome and useless Maratha force.

1817 *Bombay, 25th June, 1817 (1817, P. D. 299)*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Orders to Carnac 2. In your discussion with the Baroda Government upon the subject of those negotiations you will not fail to represent in the strongest light the solicitude and perseverance with which the British Government has prosecuted the object of obtaining for the Gaikwad the fullest redress and compensation for the injury the Baroda State has sustained by the murder of its minister at the Court of Poona;¹ and the Governor-in-Council cannot refrain from observing, what will no doubt be justly and adequately appreciated by the Gaikwad, that the nature and extent of those concessions have surpassed what the Governor-in-Council ever expected to acquire.

5. The limited scale on which the Baroda subsidiary force has been established and the purposes for which it is maintained, preclude its co-operations with a British force in any operations beyond the limits of Gujarat; and feeling the inconvenience resulting from that limitation, it has always been the intention of this Government to discuss the subject of augmenting it, whenever the finances of the Gaikwad should have been brought into some state of regularity, and extending its services to our own territories, when the exigencies of the Company may require, as the British troops would under similar circumstances be available to His Highness.

6. The Governor-in-Council conceives that a more favourable opportunity could not present itself for entering into a discussion in respect to the claims which the British Government possess on that [*i. e. the Government*] of the Gaikwad to contribute a more efficient quota of troops than His Highness's military establishment can be admitted to be for the protection of His Highness's territories in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The extent to which the subsidiary force should be augmented is specified in the 24th paragraph of the dispatch, and the expense necessary for that purpose could be met by a corresponding reduction in the military establishment of the Gaikwad to the standard of Fatesing's time, to which the Gaikwad agreed and promised to reduce the Arab and other forces, as adverted to in the agreement dated the 29th of July, 1802; and which, in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, could be effected with eminent advantage to the interests and respectability of the Gaikwad State.

7. You will observe from the 28th paragraph of the dispatch that the Governor-in-Council has no desire to couple this augmentation of the subsidiary force with any demand of cession of territory in Gujarat for its maintenance, under persuasion that the requisite funds could be annually appropriated by the Gaikwad from the revenues of

¹ An outrageous travesty of the truth, as is evidenced by the documents published in Vol. IX, and dealing with the Shastri's murder and the punishment of this crime.

the State, without inconvenience for that purpose. If however you could prevail on the Gaikwad to cede His Highness's share of his tribute and rights in Kathiawar towards the maintenance of this additional force, it would be a preferable arrangement.

8. The expectations, which the Governor-in-Council entertained from the effects of Colonel Walker's arrangements in civilising and ameliorating the condition of Kathiawar and the efficiency of the force stationed in that province under the Diwanji, have been entirely disappointed. He admits that much of that disappointment is attributable to the non-renewal of the farm of Ahmadabad and the consequent prevalence of a divided authority in the province, but at the same time he [cannot] divest himself of an apprehension¹ that the force under Diwanji has failed to abstain from levying exactions on the country beyond the tribute which it was alone authorised to collect, a system which has tended to impoverish the Chieftains and disqualify them from fulfilling their engagements for the regular payment of their tribute. He also admits that the little progress in the improvement of Kathiawar may in some degree be attributed to the discordant system of government which prevails in the country, and from the danger apprehended of admitting the Chieftains to maintain a force which they might misapply by levying contributions on their weaker neighbours, and under this restriction [have] been unable to protect their Principalities from the depredations of banditti, and hence the British Government has been obliged to cooperate in providing for their security at no inconsiderable expense. These evils could however be remedied without much difficulty, but not by the prevalence of a divided influence over the province.

9. The Governor-in-Council is fully impressed with a conviction of the importance of Kathiawar, both in a military and political point of view, as represented by Colonel Walker in his several reports on that interesting province, from its command of many excellent sea-ports, from its vicinity to Cutch and Sind, and from its possessing within itself so many valuable resources, which could be drawn forth and consolidated with advantage to itself and to the British and Gaikwad interests.

10. If therefore you should experience any reluctance in the Gaikwad to cede his rights in Kathiawar towards the maintenance of the proposed augmentation, the Governor-in-Council will be glad to be furnished with your opinion on the best mode of ameliorating the condition of the Chieftains of Kathiawar, and of the extent of the establishment which should be maintained in that province for the realisation of the whole of the tribute payable to the two Governments. The consideration of this subject becomes more immediately necessary as the decennial engagements will expire in the course of this month.

11. The Governor-in-Council attaches great importance to the conclusion of a commercial treaty with the Gaikwad State, which it would have been almost useless to negotiate so long as the Peshwa's authority prevailed in Gujarat; and as we have no desire by any of its

¹ See La Fontaine: Le Loup et l'Agneau.

Thirdly: That the military establishment of the Gaikwad had been reduced to its lowest standard, on the conclusion of the reforms in the expenditure of the Government, consistent with the claims of its attached and ancient servants and the dignity of the State.

Fourthly: That the British Government had on every occasion called for and received the aid of the Gaikwad troops in its own territories and in foreign wars, and had been exposed to no expenses whatever, additional to the subsidiary, except in cases affecting its own views of policy (in which the Gaikwad by virtue of the alliance had taken part), or in those required by the terms of the definitive treaty. That on account of the assistance rendered by the Gaikwad, either actively during the prosecution of foreign wars, or in preparations for co-operation, it had not derived any benefit by a partition of territory, similar to the Nizam or the Peshwa; whereas, when the English troops were employed within Gujarat, the expenses of every equipment have been paid either by the Gaikwad, as in the case of the Kadi war, or by tributary States of the Gaikwad, while the Gaikwad for his quota of troops on such services had obtained no indemnification of that nature.

Fifthly: That any expenses, to which the British Government might have been exposed by providing troops to meet certain calls or exigencies at Baroda, were occasioned by the spirit of the stipulations in the definitive treaty with the Gaikwad State; and that, on the other hand, the Gaikwad had furnished two-thirds of its subsidiary in execution of his obligations during the wars of Holkar and Sindia, and a proportion for the services against the State of Cutch in the years 1810 and 1816.

Sixthly: That the expedition to Cutch was in virtue of the engagements contracted by the British Government to the zamindars of Kathiawar in support chiefly of the rights of the Peshwa's territories, who had fallen under the exclusive control of the Company, and that the Gaikwad to the utmost of his means had assisted in the expedition, the fruits of which had entirely been reaped by the Company, with the exception of the payment of the actual expenses of the Gaikwad.

Seventhly: That the tranquillity of Gujarat had not been disturbed owing to inefficiency in the Gaikwad's troops. This could be substantiated from the state of the country antecedent to the introduction of the Peshwa's officers; but that the late disorders have been the consequences of divided authority in the Province and the indifference of the Poona sarsubah to its general prosperity, added to excessive contributions on his mahals; also that the tranquillity of the Gaikwad's possession individually could not be better exemplified than by the increasing revenues.

Eighthly: That the Gaikwad has never had the full advantage of its subsidiary from its incomplete state, and that it subsidised a battalion, out of the three composing the force, entirely on account of its general interests in Kathiawar, one half of which has fallen under the Company by the treaty at Poona.

foreign to the uninterrupted friendship and consideration which has hitherto prevailed.

20. Whatever may be the deficiencies in the constitution of a Maratha force, its defects in this Government are less operative from the control and influence in our hands and from the geographical position of this State. It would be absurd to draw a comparison between the organised forces of the Company and the irregular system existing in the army of any Maratha State without unqualified admission of the superior efficiency of the former, but it is only just to say that of all the armies of the Native States in alliance with the British Government, none have ever manifested, when tried, a better inclination to serve with fidelity and devotion than the troops of the Gaikwad in active operations with the forces of the Company.

The statement of the produce of the Ahmadabad farm.

Net balance.....Rs. 12,619,692 — 2 — 50.

Revenue

On the Ganges near Chapra, 15th August, 1817 (1817, P. D. 301)

1817

Marquis of Hastings to Sir Evan Nepean.

3. I have given the most attentive consideration to the important propositions contained in your dispatch [25th June, 1817] now acknowledged, for the improvement of our relations with the Gaikwad; and I now proceed to communicate to you the result of my reflections. *Calcutta views*

4. I have no hesitation in stating my decided opinion that the British Government is entitled to expect that the Gaikwad shall henceforward bear a more just proportion of the charge attached to the protection of Gujarat, including Kathiawar, from foreign attack and internal commotion.

5. The present appears to be a most favourable occasion for accomplishing an arrangement directed to that object, and for amending in other respects the existing treaty with the Gaikwad. It is necessary to premise however that the adjustment of matters must in my opinion be the subject of free and optional negotiation between [the Company and] the Gaikwad. The Peshwa's concessions are made directly to the Gaikwad, unclogged with any conditions, and founded in a great measure on the just pretensions of the Gaikwad to indemnification and atonement for the injuries he has sustained at the hands of the Peshwa. We are not entitled therefore, as it appears to me, to insist on his acquiescence in the propositions we may offer to him as a condition of his benefiting by the Peshwa's concessions in his favour. At the same time the augmentation of resources, just acquired by the Gaikwad, and the other positive benefits, which he derives from the late settlement with the Peshwa, afford the fairest reasons for our availing ourselves of those circumstances to accomplish objects, which have long been desired, and which are undeniably just and legitimate in themselves. I indulge the hope indeed that the equity and expediency of the proposed arrangement will be capable of being made so apparent to the Government of Baroda as to secure its

general command of the officer commanding the British troops, a body of 3,000 effective horse, the expense of which is to be supported exclusively by His Highness. A stipulation should be inserted binding the Gaikwad to conform to the advice or suggestions of the British Government relative to the formation and equipment of the contingent, its regular payment and the condition of its arms and accoutrements, and also for its occasional inspection and muster by the officers of the British Government. His Highness should also engage, in case of war, to bring forward the whole of his military resources to the prosecution of the war.

15. These are the only alterations in the existing treaty, which appear to be requisite to give due efficiency to the alliance; and I trust that your Hon'ble Board will find no great difficulty in obtaining the consent of Fatesing to their adoption. I accordingly request that your Hon'ble Board will direct the Resident at Baroda to open a negotiation with the Gaikwad at the earliest convenient period and to conclude a supplemental treaty to the effect stated in the preceding paragraphs, subject of course to the ratification of the Governor-General or of the Governor-General-in-Council.

No. 1 Bombay reply to the letter of the Governor-General.

We have furnished the Resident at Baroda with a copy of Your Lordship's dispatch now acknowledged, with directions to commence the negotiation of a supplemental treaty according to the instructions prescribed by Your Lordship, applicable to the arrangement he has already concerted with the Gaikwad Government, of which you will have been informed by our subsequent dispatches; and we flatter ourselves that they will in all respects meet Your Lordship's approbation. *Pleased*

Poona, 16th August, 1817 (1817, S. D. 300)

1817

Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Marquis of Hastings.

14. I had likewise heard at this time from undoubted authority *Ahmadabad* that the Gaikwad was desirous¹ of giving up the management of Ahmadabad to our Government; and this, combined with a transfer of the Peshwa's rights over that district, would effect in the most honourable manner the transfer of it to ourselves, which had been so much desired by the Right Hon'ble the Governor of Bombay, while our leaving the sovereignty in the hands of the Peshwa would be a bar even to our accepting the advantages afforded by the Gaikwad. I therefore determined to accept the Peshwa's rights in Ahmadabad and make a deduction of 4½ lakhs from the cessions in the Carnatic.

Baroda, 26th August, 1817 (1817, S.D. 301)

1817

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. Before I had the honour to receive your instructions, the *Further* arrangements for an augmentation of the subsidiary force had been *success* completed as far as it remained with this Government. The Peshwa's

¹ Good'shot!

for that purpose. The peninsula of Kathiawar has ever been accustomed to look to Ahmadabad as the seat of authority, and its fame is superior to that of any city on the western side of India.

15. Subject to the mild and paternal Government of the Hon'ble Company, this beautiful city would again resume its importance, and the prospects of happiness be joyfully hailed in a change of master. It is not easy to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty in former times, or to describe its present comparative impoverished appearance by the means of bad government, but even in its adversity the manufactures are not surpassed in elegance, and the bounty of nature yet fixes its superior pretensions to admiration. Under the administration of British laws, which protect property and encourage every exertion of lucrative industry, the extensive merchandise, for which Ahmadabad was once distinguished, would become renewed, to the diffusion of many blessings over the province in Gujarat. In a word, it may not be hazarding too much to say that the city of Ahmadabad, placed in the hands of the British Government, promises to prove a source not only of great revenue, but a possession worthy of a splendid and enlightened nation.

Bombay, 27th August, 1817 (1817, S. D. 300)

1817

Sir Evan Nepean to the Marquis of Hastings.

Captain Carnac has obtained the acquiescence of the Gaikwad to transfer the territories dependent on the farm of Ahmedabad to our management for the payment of the amount, on our consenting to provide in the payment of the rent of the Peshwa. However advantageous this arrangement might be to the interests of the Hon'ble Company in a pecuniary point of view, we see objection to the proposed arrangement. *Bombay scruples*

The acceptance of this particular territory, adverting to all the circumstances which have occurred respecting it, might, we fear, be considered discreditable to us, as, however conscious we might feel of the rectitude of our proceedings, it would probably be difficult to establish a belief on the part of the Native Powers that the possession of this territory, which we have hitherto professed to be so anxious to secure to the Gaikwad Power, did not form part of a premeditated plan to secure it ultimately to ourselves. Although we are disposed to give the fullest credit to the Resident for the motives by which his conduct has been regulated on this occasion, yet we cannot but regret that, finding he could not effect the cession of the Kathiawar tribute, he did not confine his application to the obtaining a money payment for the additional subsidy, instead of acquiescing in the cession of Ahmadabad.

Notwithstanding a considerable distinction existed in the conditions on which possession of Ahmadabad might now be obtained from those on which we some time ago proposed to take it from the Peshwa, in as much that a permanent interest is proposed to be conveyed to us, instead of a lease for a short period, yet all the principles, on which the objections were founded, are not changed by the duration of the lease; and we can therefore hardly contemplate Your Lordship's

option of commuting the Peshwa's claims on him for an annual payment of four lakhs of Rupees per annum; and in the hope that the Gaikwad will accept this settlement, you will of course have instructed the Resident at Baroda to commence a negotiation with the Gaikwad for this purpose. Should it fail through the perverseness or unreasonable expectations of the Government of Baroda, it will be necessary to bring to a close without delay the long pending arbitration of the Peshwa's claims, so far as they relate to time past. With regard to His Highness's [the Peshwa] prospective claims, their absolute and unqualified relinquishment must be considered as an important advantage to the Gaikwad, not merely with reference to their estimated pecuniary amount, which at the lowest value is equal to three lakhs of Rupees per annum, but to the complete exoneration of the Gaikwad from every species of dependence on the Government of Poona, a circumstance which cannot fail to afford the highest gratification to the former court. The Gaikwad has been a material gainer, too, by the renewal in perpetuity of the farm of Ahmadabad at a rent of four lakhs and a half of Rupees, being not more than half of its actual produce.

4. I request your attention to the suggestion relative to the probability of being able by exchanges of territory with the Gaikwad to improve the continuity and compactness of territories of both States. You will be pleased to take this subject into your immediate consideration and to adopt the necessary measures for effecting an arrangement of the nature proposed, if you shall deem it to be expedient and practicable.

No. 2. Remarks on the 5th article.

Article 5th. The option, given to the Gaikwad by this article to commute the Peshwa's past claims on him for an annual payment of four lakhs of Rupees, is considered by the Governor-General to have been a most expedient provision; and His Lordship earnestly hopes that the Gaikwad will accept this settlement, which under all circumstances cannot but be deemed to be extremely advantageous to him. On the other hand, adverting to the peculiar ground of dissatisfaction which the Gaikwad has against the Peshwa, His Lordship does not conceive that either in this arrangement or in the other provisions of the treaty, in which the Gaikwad is concerned, the Peshwa has been treated with any undue harshness. Should the Gaikwad, contrary to all reasonable expectation, decline the proposed settlement, it will be requisite to pronounce a final decision on the Peshwa's claims, a necessity which His Lordship will regret on many accounts. It will in this case be extremely desirable to bring the arbitration to a close with the least practicable delay.

No. 3. Remarks on the 15th article.

Article 15th. The alterations in the sanad for the farm of the Peshwa's share of Ahmadabad, in order to adapt the terms of the grant to the circumstances under which the farm is now to be held, are approved of course. All the observations that have occurred to the Governor-General on the provisions of this article have been anticipated in the remarks on articles fifth and seventh.

my judgment, be removed; and, in that event, I authorise and request your Hon'ble Board to instruct the Resident at Baroda to accept the Gaikwad's tender of the territories of Ahmadabad to meet the charge of the augmented subsidiary force.

A consideration of the advantages, which will attend this arrangement, supersedes the regret I should otherwise have felt at the Gaikwad's refusal to cede his share of the tribute of Kathiawar.

Bombay, 1st October, 1817 (1817, S. D. 301).

1817

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Having already transmitted to you a copy of a dispatch received *Instructions* from His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, dated the 15th August last, prescribing the principles on which a supplemental treaty is to be negotiated with Gaikwad State, I have been directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to furnish you with the following instructions.

His Excellency having authorised the proposed augmentation to the subsidiary force, and the Gaikwad Government having acceded to that proposition, there can be no possible objection on the part of the Baroda State to the mode in which the quota of troops to compose that force is to be furnished, that is whether in four battalions of one thousand each or in five of eight hundred, as it creates no augmentation of expense to the Gaikwad, whilst the advantages of such a division of four thousand men to constitute the force are obvious and unquestionable, and it will be conformable to the establishment recently fixed for the battalions of native infantry at this Presidency, it will therefore be founded on that principle.

With regard to the provision of funds for this increase of the subsidiary force, the grounds, which influenced the Governor-in-Council in preferring the cession of the Gaikwad's share of tribute and his rights in Kathiawar, have been fully supported by the importance attached by His Excellency the Governor-General to the exclusion of all influence within the province of Kathiawar, excepting that of the British Government. But however desirable these cessions might be, he deems it prudent to relinquish the object, under a conviction that the reluctance expressed by the Gaikwad Government to that arrangement cannot be overcome without the risk of weakening its attachment and the cordiality of its present disposition towards the British Government.

Although the Governor-in-Council directs you to abstain from renewing the discussions for excluding the influence of the Gaikwad in Kathiawar, it is yet of importance to the maintenance of the character and reputation of the British Government in the estimation of its Chieftains that you should distinctly apprise the Baroda Government of the necessity of our exercising in future a more vigilant and active superintendence in maintaining the rights of the bhumnias, under the engagements concluded by Colonel Walker, than we have hitherto done, and which we are indeed bound to do by the terms of those engagements.

The preference, given by His Excellency the Governor-General to the assignment of territory in lieu of a money payment for meeting the expense of the proposed augmentation of the subsidiary force, leads the Governor-in-Council to acquiesce in the arrangement, by which it appears the Gaikwad had agreed to transfer to our management the whole of the rights over the territories acquired by the perpetual lease of Ahmadabad, subject to the deductions incident to the conditions of the farm.

The Governor-in-Council was indeed [*inclined*] to suggest a pecuniary payment for the maintenance of the proposed augmentation of the subsidiary force, from a reluctance he felt to require any further dismemberment of the patrimonial possessions of the Gaikwad State. But, independently of that consideration, objections appeared to him to exist to the arrangement stated in the preceding paragraph, so long as the sovereignty of either the Peshwa or the Gaikwad continued over Ahmadabad.

As those objections are however likely to be removed by the cession of the Peshwa's and Gaikwad's rights over Ahmadabad to the British Government, the Governor-in-Council does not hesitate to sanction an arrangement which is certainly equally beneficial to the interests of the two States.

The territories leased by the Peshwa to the Gaikwad in perpetuity would probably have been reformed by the latter for				Rs.	9,00,000
From which is to be deducted the rent of the farm				Rs.	<u>4 50,000</u>
Leaving a profit to the Gaikwad of				Rs.	4,50,000
We engage to take it at				Rs.	<u>12,61,969</u>
So that under this arrangement the Gaikwad will make				Rs.	<u>8,11,969</u>

Or, in other words, the Gaikwad will contribute towards the maintenance of the two regiments of cavalry and regiment of native infantry only Rs. 4,50,000. The profits, in fact, arising out of these territories, which have become so much more productive since the introduction of our influence in Gujarat, will, instead of being realised by rapacious farmers, be appropriated to an augmentation of the strength and respectability of the Government. The arrangement therefore may be viewed as more advantageous to the Gaikwad than the payment of an annual pecuniary assignment, which would be drawn from territories farmed on terms equally unfavourable.

The Governor-in-Council entertains no doubts that under our management the districts, comprehended within the farm of Ahmadabad, and the saving to be effected out of the allowances made for the darakdars, sibandis, etc. will yield at least the sum specified in the statement which accompanied your letter of the 29th July.

Under the operation of a treaty embracing those provisions, it appears to the Governor-in-Council that the pretensions of the Gaikwad Government to benefit by any future partition of territories

acquired in foreign wars, in which His Highness may co-operate, would be entitled to consideration; but the Governor-in-Council cannot admit that His Highness has ever possessed the shadow of a claim to any such benefit [by] any existing treaty or on the grounds of any aid hitherto derived from His Highness's co-operation in the foreign wars, in which the British Government has been engaged.

As you have already obtained the consent of the Gaikwad to add one thousand native infantry and two regiments of native cavalry to the Baroda subsidiary, and to the transfer to our management of the whole of the rights of the Gaikwad over to the territories acquired by the perpetual lease of Ahmadabad and its dependencies, with the exception of the revenue derivable by the Gaikwad from the tributary states of the Mahi Kantha and the deductions incident to the conditions of the farm of the Gaikwad, as also to reduce his military establishment in the amount of four lakhs of Rupees, the supplemental treaty, which you will have to negotiate, is to embrace the following additional provisions, *viz.* for the employment of the subsidiary force, with the exception of one battalion to remain at all times near His Highness's person, beyond the boundaries of the province of Gujarat, should it be necessary for the security or interests of the contracting parties; and for the admission into the Gaikwad territories of any number of British troops in excess to the subsidiary force, the Gaikwad being liable to no additional charge on that account.

The treaty should also contain a recognition of the exchange reported in your letter of the 26th of last month.

Of the advantages of that exchange the Governor-in-Council is fully aware. Although in territorial extent and in population the balance may preponderate in favour of the Gaikwad, still no doubt can exist that the political importance and commanding influence, which the sovereignty over the city of Ahmadabad confers on its possessor in the estimation of the country at large, will more than compensate any pecuniary differences which may exist between the value of the exchange in a pecuniary condition.

It is however desirable that you should avail yourself of every argument, which you may derive from what may certainly be considered a favourable exchange in points of territorial sovereignty to the Gaikwad, as the possession of Daboi, Savli and Bahadurpur must be esteemed to be to the security of Baroda and the consolidation of its territories in the vicinity of that capital, to effect an exchange of the moghlai revenues, which we derive from the Gaikwad districts in the athavisi, for cessions either in Petland or in the vicinity of Surat. The advantages of this arrangement to both States, by exempting the territories of the one from all claims on the part of the other, and the motives for our desiring it, must be apparent to the Gaikwad Government. It is most desirable that a partition of territory and of interests between the remaining two Powers should be distinctly drawn with the view of preventing all those unpleasant discussions which are likely to arise from an intersected jurisdiction. But, as this cannot be effected without our ceding in exchange territories which

"have experienced the blessing of a British Government," to which the Governor-General-in-Council has expressed the strongest objection, in the force and justness of which the Governor-in-Council fully concurs, the object must be abolished. But, when exchanges can be made, without militating with the principle on which the objections of the supreme Government are founded, as in the instance in question, the Governor-in-Council is most anxious that such a district should be ceded in exchange for our moghlai claims on the Gaikwad territories as shall tend to render our possessions more compact and united. The extent of territorial sovereignty which we sacrifice in the exchange of Daboi, Bahadurpur and Savli could be compensated by the transfer of territory for those of revenue.

I am directed to acquaint you that upon a consideration of the conduct of Sitaram Raoji the Governor-in-Council considers it to be extremely impolitic that he should be allowed to return to Baroda, until your negotiation of the supplemental treaty shall have terminated; and should a fit opportunity present itself, you will avail yourself of it, and inform Fatesing that, from a desire to oblige the Gaikwad family, the Governor-in-Council is disposed to yield his consent to the return of Sitaram Raoji to Baroda, under a clear and distinct understanding that Sitaram Raoji shall not be employed in any political situation.

1817 *Bombay 2nd October, 1817 (1817 S. D. 301)*

At a Consultation. Letter from J. Adam to Francis Warden, dated On the Ganges near Mirzapur, 29th August, 1817.

Approval You are authorised to open a negotiation with the Peshwa for the exchange of territory suggested by Sir Evan Nepean, provided no circumstances shall appear to you at the period of your receipt of this dispatch to oppose the adoption of that measure.

1817 *Poona, 22nd October, 1817 (1817, S. D. 301)*

Mountstuart Elphinstone to Francis Warden.

Sanad I have the honour to enclose an order from His Highness the Peshwa to His Highness the Gaikwad, directing the surrender of the Peshwa's share of that district in perpetual sovereignty to the British Government.

This draft, after repeated alterations, appears to me quite satisfactory; and I hope it will appear so to the Right Honorable the Governor.

Peshwa's sanad.

The farm of Ahmadabad, in the province of Gujarat, to the north of the Mahi River, having been granted to you in perpetuity from the present year, a settlement was made for the payment in the usual currency, independently of Kathiawar.

The real amount of the rusud	..	..	Rs. 3,75,000
Private personal payment	..	..	" 25,000
Court charges	..	..	" 50,000
			<hr/> Rs. 4,50,000

By instalments as follows, viz.

On the 1st of Srawan sudh	..	..	..	Rs. 1,50,000
" " 1st of Paush sudh	..	..	..	" 1,50,000
" " 1st of Vaisakh sudh	..	..	..	" 1,50,000
				<hr/> Rs. 4,50,000

Which sum of four and a half lakhs of Rupees was settled for the farm, without any deduction on account of famine or disturbance, and exclusive of all charges for interest, exchange, or other allowances connected with the rusud to be paid by instalment to the authorities of the Presence, a receipt being taken for the same. Upon which terms the farm was granted to you on the 15th June, 1817, and a sanad issued accordingly. But as the sum of four lakhs and a half of Rupees, annually accruing to Government from the said district, together with the Government's authority over it, have been ceded to the British Government, on account of military expenses, you will continue to pay the same of four lakhs and a half of Rupees annually; and obtaining a receipt for the same, to act in concurrence with the British Government. Dated 19th September, 1817.

Baroda, 29th October, 1817 (1817, S. D. 302)

1817

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble Board *Cessions* that I have obtained the papers from His Highness Fatesing for the surrender of the farm of Ahmadabad, and for our assumption of the rights of this Government in the city of Ahmadabad, as well as the stipulated cession from the Gaikwad's share of the Pellad district.

Baroda, 12th November, 1817 (1817, S.D. 306)

1817

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I do myself the honour of submitting to the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council my proceedings for negotiating a supplement to the treaty of definitive alliance between the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad State. *Comment on treaty*

2. In proceeding to report the discussions upon some of the articles of this new engagement, I shall omit any notice of the numerous objections received upon points of trifling import. It will only be necessary to remark that the whole treaty has been concluded on the principles of a free and optional negotiation with the Gaikwad Government, chiefly conducted by the personal agency of His Highness Fatesing, and that the articles forming the present engagement will be found strictly to adhere to the general directions of Government with some few modifications, the admission of which were found indispensable in compliance with the anxious wishes of the Administration.

3. The first, second and third articles gave rise to no serious discussion, I proceed therefore to the 4th article on which some discussion took place. The Gaikwad having retained his haveli in the city of Ahmedabad, His Highness Fatesing felt particularly desirous that in the supplemental treaty the exemption of his servants from the operation of our laws should be distinctly avowed. Having found

His Highness inflexible in his resolution not to yield in this respect, it remained with me to introduce into the 4th article a clause by which the Gaikwad authorities are bound to afford satisfaction of adequate punishment for any misconduct of their servants within the city of Ahmadabad. The conclusion of the 4th article, stipulating the free passage of articles purchased at Ahmadabad for the private use of the Gaikwad family and its ministers, being an extension of the indulgence granted in the definitive treaty for purchases in Bombay and at Surat, I consented to its insertion as an act of suitable indulgence to this Government, which His Highness Fatesing received with expressions of his acknowledgments.

4. The fifth article was thoroughly resisted from the outset by Fatesing, and he was encouraged to persist in his opposition by the Minister, Vithoba Bhau. His Highness earnestly objected to changes in his hereditary possessions, accepting petty imports similar to the moghlai dues of the Castle of Surat from his mahals in that province, and quoted the stipulation which the Hon'ble Company had made to require no further exchanges after that of the pargana of Bijapur. I dropped the subject for some days, until an opportunity was afforded me of having a private interview with him. I took that occasion of explaining the great advantages he had acquired by the exchange of Ahmadabad; that, although there had been a stipulation drafted, debarring the Hon'ble Company from requiring any more exchanges of territory, that engagement had not yet been formally executed and would fairly admit of my making a proposal for territory in lieu of the dues on his mahals in the Surat athavisi. All the influence I possessed with him, was exerted to the accomplishment of our object; but great stress was nevertheless laid upon our assurance of demanding nothing more in the way of exchange, with occasional allusions to there being no limit to our expectations in this respect, His Highness continuing to remark that the possessions, which he now held, were particularly valuable from their being the acquirement of his most renowned ancestors, and that nothing but necessity could induce him to resign them even for possessions perhaps of greater value. He added that already he had consented to the exchange of Ahmadabad, and that in his heart he was desirous of yielding in the case of the moghlai dues, if I would assure him and insert in the treaty that no [similar] demands would be preferred hereafter, conjuring me to believe that, whether from personal interests or more worthy motives, his servants were disposed to upbraid him for making so many encroachments upon the patrimony of his forefathers. I replied to His Highness that, while I applauded the motives he had adduced for his scruples, I could not so easily reconcile them to his forgetfulness of what the Gaikwad Government owed to the Hon'ble Company for its uniform support and protection. The character of the proceedings of the British Government in its connection with the Baroda State ought not only to insure it the utmost degree of consideration from the Gaikwad, but inspire a confidence in its justice and moderation very incompatible with the demand of His Highness as a consequence of his consent to the proposed exchange. Neither, I explained to His Highness, could I understand for what reasons he had

to look with so much deference to his ministers, whose motives were often very questionable, and might be so in the present case by His Highness's own admission. I urged him therefore not to suggest any assurance from the British Government of the nature he had mentioned; and that, rather than press the question of the moghlai upon such terms, I was willing to abandon it. His Highness however asserted that the stipulation had been made for all the jaidad mahals, and he expected it to apply to all his other territories, repeating his fears for making the changes he had already done; but that he acceded to receive the moghlai dues in the hope and confidence that it would be the last of exchanges.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will however perceive that the close of the 6th article provides for no exchange of territory in future. The insertion of such a clause was objected to by every argument I could use with Fatesing; and I should have induced His Highness to expunge it from his memoranda of modification, if the feelings he had exposed on the discussions in the 5th article, had not been kept alive and applauded by the ministers of his Government. No means were left untried by these persons to impress Fatesing with the necessity of securing the future possession of his present territories; and it gave me much concern to observe that the reasoning, adduced by me, had not the effect of altering the resolution which Fatesing had unadvisedly formed upon this subject. I took some pains to persuade him of the objectionable appearance which such an obligation carried with it, and the inconvenience it might hereafter create. It was in vain that I exerted every argument, which resulted from the known justice and generosity of the British Government and a reliance on its forbearance. The admission of the modification did not however depart from the general spirit of my instructions, and the question seemed to me by no means to justify a discontinuation of the negotiation. It was therefore acceded to with expressions of reluctance on these grounds, namely, that the principle upon which I was ordered to conduct the present negotiation demanded every practicable consideration towards the Gaikwad Government, when it did not affect the main objects of the engagement proposed to be formed.

6. I have now the honour to proceed to the 9th article, the latter part of which differs from my proposal for the occasional muster and inspection of the contingent of 3,000 horse to act with the subsidiary force. Every stage of this article was the subject of tedious discussion, aided by the influence of the ministers and sardars, who respectively [tried] to deter Fatesing from consenting to an article which might so materially affect their own interests.

7. Though co-operation of the Gaikwad forces beyond the limits of Gujarat was objected to on account of the increased expense which a distant service would impose upon the Government, as well as the insecurity to its territories contingent on detaching its army to meet any calls of the British Government, His Highness avowed his intention to assist us to the utmost of his power; and that he had testified in the instance of the expedition into Cutch his desire not to withhold his co-operation on the grounds of that country being situated beyond the

limits of Gujarat. He was therefore unwilling to make any formal engagement to the effect I had suggested, exposing his readiness at all times to give his aid as far as his means would admit.

8. The same description of arguments was used against a stipulation for the contingent of 3,000 horse; and at one time I was afraid that it would not have been in my power to have effected this important arrangement. It was not congenial to the wishes of the ministers and the military officers of the Government that any scrutiny should take place in the members and efficiency of these respective corps; and as civil officers also hold pagas of horse, I had to encounter the whole weight of their combined endeavours to defeat my purposes. Fatesing himself was not decidedly hostile to the measure at its earliest suggestion, which afforded me the advantage of showing him the motives that probably governed the conduct of his servants. I had long reason to doubt the efficiency of the Gaikwad forces, and that it continued a source of considerable corruption. This was indeed to be expected in some degree from the weakness of the Government during the reign of the late Govindrao having compelled it to allow exemption to the principle sardars in muster of the troops subject to their commands. This objectionable system has prevailed ever since, and enables the sardars, supported by the Minister, to make opposition to my wishes on the plea of certain rights granted to them by the Gaikwad.

9. A knowledge, which I had acquired of the deficient state of the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri force employed at Palanpur, afforded me an excellent opportunity of pointing out in the most forcible manner to Fatesing the culpable negligence of his Government and the danger of his attending any longer to the interested advice of his sardars. The scenes of anarchy and confusion from his disobedient soldiery in former times were brought to his recollection, and the necessity of firmness and exertion, to avoid a recurrence of the evils which had been subdued, inculcated with all the earnestness and influence which it was in my power to use. At the same time His Highness was reminded of the disgraceful and unpleasant dilemma to which his Government was reduced by my having acquired a certain knowledge of a false return of the force detached to Palanpur, accompanied by many other observations tending to show that the nature of the subsisting alliance required a constant and efficient co-operation, which could never be granted as long as the public officers of the State were allowed to pursue with impunity a system of corruption of the most destructive description to the interests of their employers.

10. The result of my conversations made an impression on His Highness. He at length complained to me that many privileges were granted by his predecessors to the military, which it would be odious to annul; but that, adverting to the present times, he felt it incumbent on him to overlook individual claims incompatible with the true interests of the Gaikwad Government. He agreed at last to my wishes for the contingent especially, and even to make an inquiry, if possible in his own person, of the condition of his forces generally; which I ventured to encourage with every assurance of my support and

assistance. He also acceded to the insertion of the obligation, which provides for the co-operation of the whole of the military resources of the State in case of war, after various explanations to convince him that, the interests of the two Governments being so completely identified, the defence of Gujarat would ever be an object of the first importance to the Hon'ble Company. His Highness's mind had however been poisoned regarding the manner in which we proposed to equip the contingent; and he accordingly suggested the insertion of the words, "according to the customs of the Gaikwad Government" as well as the remaining part of the 8th article, in place of my suggestion, "for the occasional muster and inspection by the British Government." I assented to the modification proposed by His Highness and to its insertion in his own words, as the change did not affect the sense or construction of the proposed article, but rather improved it, from the executive authority of the State having associated himself with the Resident in the stipulated inspection, and as a proof that we could have no intentions, but such as were clearly expressed to His Highness.

11. The success which attended this part of the negotiation was very gratifying to me from the manner in which Fatesing conducted the proceedings, though urged by various means to oppose my wishes. His consent has been a cause of much disappointment to many of the principal officers; as he remarked, great difficulty will yet be experienced in obtaining the requisite muster and, in fact, almost reorganising the Gaikwad army. With a view of showing an example, His Highness has commenced with the muster of his own establishments, evincing a share of good sense, on this occasion, deserving of being submitted to the notice of Government and particularly striking from its contrast to the conduct of his servants.

12. The 9th article was included at the express wish of this Government, and though not strictly applicable to a supplemental engagement, was assented to. The stipulation in the article will explain itself and appears essential for the tranquillity of the territories of the two States in Gujarat.

Supplement to the Definitive Treaty with the Gaikwad.

See Aitchinson, Vol. VI, pp. 134-138.

Treaty

Bombay, 28th January, 1818 (1818, S. D. 306)

1818

Sir Evan Nepean to the Marquis of Hastings.

We have the honour of transmitting to Your Lordship the copy of a dispatch we have received from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 12th of November last, and of the supplemental treaty with the Gaikwad Government, therein referred to. *Supplemental treaty*

We deem it unnecessary to advert in detail in this dispatch to the several articles, as our opinions¹ on each of them respectively are contained in the letter from our Chief Secretary to the Resident under

1. The objections raised by the Bombay Government cover 56 foolscap pages (1818, S. D. 306, pp. 240-296); they are all of them variations on the famous saying: "Please, sir, I want some more."

this date, a copy of which we enclose; by which Your Lordship will perceive that we have considered it expedient to propose some modifications in the terms of the treaty; and in submitting our observations for Your Lordship's consideration, we trust they will meet with your approbation.

1818 *Camp Masowali, 12th March, 1818 (1818, P. D. 450)*

J. Adam to Frances Warden

Treaty of 1817 The Governor-General having this day ratified the treaty, concluded by Captain Carnac with the Government of Baroda on the 6th of November, 1817, I have received His Lordship's commands to transmit to you the ratified instrument, and to request that it may be conveyed to Captain Carnac under the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay for the purpose of being presented to His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad.

2. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that the treaty has been ratified without alteration, and the Governor-General will take an early opportunity of communicating fully to the Governor-in-Council the considerations which have induced him to adopt this step and his sentiments and instructions in the several alterations and modifications of the treaty, referred to in your dispatch to Captain Carnac of the 28th of January last.

3. His Lordship requested that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will exercise his discretion with regard to transmitting the ratified treaty to Baroda directly, or awaiting His Lordship's proposed communication.

1818 *Gorakhpur, 4th May, 1818 (1818, P. D. 450)*

Governor-General to France's Warden.

Comment on treaty of 1817 2. For the sake of clearness and convenience I will advert to each article of the treaty according to their numerical order, stating on each the observations that occur to me, with reference to the remarks contained in your instructions to Captain Carnac, or which have otherwise suggested themselves to my mind.

3. I have no particular observation to make on the first and second articles, excepting that the provision in the first article for adding "one battalion of a thousand men" to the subsidiary force, does not seem to be expressed with sufficient attention to the option comprehended in the second, of forming the force of five battalions of eight hundred men each.

4. On considering the objections offered by Your Hon'ble Board to the admission into the third article of the clause for securing the Gaikwad against any future claims on the part of the Peshwa, connected with the lease of Ahmadabad, it appears to me that its insertion in the treaty is perfectly harmless, since in fact it binds the British Government to nothing.

5. I am not insensible of the possible embarrassment arising from the Gaikwad's retaining possession of the haveli of Ahmadabad

and the daskroi villages comprehending the exclusive jurisdiction over the inhabitants, notwithstanding the stipulations inserted in the 14th article of the treaty, with a view to obviate them. Considering however the very great importance, attached by Fatesing to the reservation of the possession and privileges, and the obvious influence that the concession of this point to his wishes has had on his acquiescence in the rest of the treaty and to his general contentment with the whole of the arrangement, it seems to me on all accounts desirable to confirm this article in its present form.

7. Although however I have resolved to maintain the arrangement as it at present stands in the treaty, I am so well aware of the possible inconvenience of it that I shall be happy to learn that any favourable occasion presents itself to Captain Carnac for obtaining either the cession of the haveli and the daskroi villages, or such a modification of the conditions regarding the limitations of the relative authority of the two Governments, as may be calculated to remove to a certain degree the objections entertained by Your Hon'ble Board.

9. The apprehension with regard to our further views which engendered the desire of Fatesing for the introduction into the sixth article of a declaration that no future proposition should be made by the British Government for an exchange of territory, is to be regretted; and I should have been well satisfied if it could have been left out of a solemn public engagement. The stipulation not only establishes an inconvenient obstacle of form to arrangements which might be advantageous for both parties, but conveys an implication that undue pressure had been felt by the Gaikwad in former transactions. In substance however I do not consider the objection to such an assurance being given on our part as of a description which need be maintained against all other regards. I do not therefore hold it expedient to propose to the Government of Baroda any alteration in this article of the treaty.

10. The remaining articles do not suggest any particular remark. The stipulations, regarding the inspection and muster of the contingent, appear to be sufficient to ensure the maintenance of that body in a state of efficiency; and the details of the plan having been adopted at the express suggestion of Fatesing, a reasonable hope may be entertained of their being carefully observed.

11. I have not failed to give attention to the remarks of Captain Carnac in explanation of the motives which induced him at an early stage of the negotiation to relinquish the demand for the cession of the Gaikwad's share of the Kathiawar tribute; and they appear to me to be substantial and just. Your Hon'ble Board has in your reply stated your view of our right of interference between the Gaikwad and the tributary Chiefs of Kathiawar as resulting from the tenor of our engagements with both parties.

12. I repose entire confidence in the wisdom and discretion of Your Hon'ble Board for the observance of the utmost attention to the rights and interests of our ally the Gaikwad in any arrangements you may be desirous of adopting with regard to Kathiawar. I am unable

without a more full exposition of the case to pronounce an opinion on the particular points of discussion comprised in the correspondence on this subject with Captain Carnac; but I shall of course be prepared, on the receipt of any reference you may make to my authority, to consider the question and communicate to you my sentiments and instructions, as far as they may seem requisite for the guidance of your further proceedings.

1818 *Baroda*, 15th June, 1818 (1818, P. D. 451)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Daskroi & haveli In arrangements with His Highness Fatesing, connected with the Gaikwad Government, I have had opportunity of opening the subject to him of the transfer of the haveli and daskroi of Ahmadabad to the Hon'ble Company; and as my discussions imperceptibly assumed a shape in the course of different personal conferences with His Highness, which appeared to me to render it desirable not to recede, I have taken upon myself, under such circumstances, to anticipate the approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to my having prosecuted the negotiation to the issue which I shall now do myself the honour of submitting for his information.

Difficulties 2. The subject, I had always expected, was not in its outset without many difficulties.

3. Many meetings were held in public Darbar, when I was led to believe that His Highness would give me a satisfactory reply. I was however disappointed on several occasions, and the cause at length became obvious, as I had understood that on these meetings I had not merely to encounter the secret influence of the Minister, Vithoba Bhau, and the whole list of darakdars, for reasons which will hereafter appear, but that the seniors of the Gaikwad family of the greatest consideration were assembled in an adjoining apartment with a view of stimulating Fatesing to a denial, and to upbraid him in case he made the most trifling concession. The objections on these occasions may be succinctly comprised under the following heads: that the British Government in the supplemental treaty had solemnly stipulated to require no further exchanges of territory; that the daskroi and haveli were studiously kept out of consideration in all the late discussions, by which the Gaikwad had made valuable and extensive cessions and substitutions of territory; and that the retention of the haveli and daskroi was not only essential to the dignity of the Gaikwad as a sovereign, from Ahmadabad having been the seat of government to the kings of all Hindustan, but that it was a possession the loss of which in common opinion would be precursory to the downfall of the State which had resigned it. Also that the interests of the chief members of the Gaikwad family and many of the darakdars would be compromised by parting with it, inam villages and dumali-gaons having been given to them principally from the daskroi districts.

5. Generally after these meetings the native agent was privately called by His Highness, either late in the evening or during the night,

and assured that he [Fatesing] had no intention of making his secret communications to me and his public demeanour so very incompatible; but that he was overpowered by remonstrances, which it was not possible for him to resist, from the elders of his family; and that the Minister had exerted himself to receive a host of opponents to the proposed measure. These messages were usually accompanied by expressions of his reluctance to differ with me, and his fears that, however well disposed personally not to displease or disappoint the British Government, which might be now considered the lords of India (alluding to the recent unparalleled success of our arms), he should be compelled to give me a negative.

6. Having thus ascertained the feelings of His Highness as not being in his own person particularly hostile to the exchange, it was necessary that I should convince some member of his family of the reasonableness of the negotiation, in order that his influence might be used against that of the Minister. The attention of the native agent was accordingly directed to the nephew of the mother of His Highness, whose good offices were the more desirable on the present occasion from his near relationship with the ladies and the indifferent terms upon which he had stood for some time with the Minister. This person was accordingly engaged to satisfy those of the Gaikwad family, whose interests became implicated in the result of my negotiation; and though his services did not immediately produce much effect, I have hardly a doubt of [having gained] advantage from them in the subsequent course of the discussions.

7. I had resolved, on my last disappointment in public Darbar *Private* and the temper of the discussions at such times, not to put myself *talks* in the power of the persons who had the privileges from their offices of resisting me, or of exposing Fatesing to the embarrassments he had suffered from his relations. My communications were therefore confined to opportunities, when I might be supposed to be making visits of civility, either at the gardens in the neighbourhood or at His Highness's private residence. The regard which Fatesing had long manifested for the native agent was also particularly fortunate, proving a powerful auxiliary to the advancement of my wishes.

8. In these interviews I had reason to congratulate myself on the observation of His Highness's general disposition towards the British Government, which was the more praiseworthy from the hostility or doubtful fidelity of every other Maratha State. He did me the honour to profess towards me sentiments of friendship and confidence, and spoke of the feelings which the Gaikwad family ought to cherish for the manifold proofs of [goodwill] which the Hon'ble Company had testified at all times and under very depressing circumstances. It was these feelings, he had observed, that led him to set at defiance the suggestions and insinuations of others against our motives for demanding so many novel alterations in his Government; but he added that he could judge of the disposition of my superiors from the spirit of my proceedings towards him, and he was sensible that the preservation of his dominions and the political existence of the Gaikwad were dependent on the honour of the British Government.

My usual reply to remarks of this description consisted in references to past transactions at Baroda and to the uniform moderation manifested in our policy with other States; that I was convinced the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council looked upon the Gaikwad as a faithful and efficient ally, who had no interests separated from our own; and that, whenever it could be substantiated that measures of accommodation to us were not inconsistent with the real good of the Gaikwad, he entertained confident hopes, from past experience, of a ready disposition in His Highness to admit of them; while I was commissioned to assure His Highness in the most distinct language that our proposed occupation of the haveli and daskroi districts was entirely contingent on his own free will and consent, I disclaimed any intention of taking advantage of the passing times to enforce my object. On the other hand I was ready to satisfy His Highness that his surrender of the possessions in question was profitable to his Government; and that it was essential to the operation of our laws and the consolidation of our territory around Ahmadabad I had already explained. Without the cession of the haveli and daskroi every inconvenience, resulting from conflicting authority and detached independent control in the midst of the sovereignty of the Company, could not fail to be experienced; and that I foresaw, from the different constitution of the two Governments, sources of infinite annoyance without a concomitant substantial benefit; since I could never consider the mere form of holding these possessions, on the alleged grounds of their having been royal dominions, as counterbalancing the consequences I had mentioned from a desultory distribution of power.

9. I was required to show in what way the surrender of the possessions could be converted into a positive profit to the Gaikwad; with which view I submitted to His Highness a statement exhibiting a large annual saving from the discharge of the heavy military establishment entertained at Ahmadabad and in the daskroi. This appeared to have some effect with him and after a time produced his consent to surrender the districts, but not the haveli with the inams and dumali-gaon assignments, only on condition that the intended appropriation of the villages from the Gaikwad's share of Petland, to make up for the exchange of Dabhoi, became cancelled. I considered it proper at once to decline this offer; first, on the grounds that its acceptance would be executing only a part of the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and secondly, from the inexpediency of any of the Company's possessions being encumbered with the grants of a foreign State. It was also my object by acquiring the whole of the daskroi to cover the stipulated cession of our moghlai dues in the Surat athavisi. Consequently I informed His Highness that it would be better to drop the discussion altogether than to make offers which he must be sensible I could never accept.

Deskroi 10. The native agent's exertions at this state of the negotiations *ceded* were commendable; and in a great degree I must attribute to his influence with His Highness and the nephew of his mother the consent which was given to include the inam and dumali-gaon tenures in the daskroi cession. Nevertheless the point was not granted regarding the haveli, and it became a prolific subject of contention. As to the

intended assignment in Petlad the statement, submitted in the sequel, will show that its relinquishment in the first place was the only means of granting an equivalent for what would be acquired from the daskroi, and it became a necessity from the moment that an acquiescence was given to the daskroi question. It may be necessary also to state that, though arrangements had been concluded for the cession in Petlad, the villages were not occupied by the Collector, owing to the ineligibility of some [villages] proposed to be assigned; and the measure has been allowed to lay over by my advice and with the concurrence of the Collector, since I received the instructions for the other assignments at Ahmadabad. The delay in our taking possession of the villages in Petlad could not be susceptible either of detriment to Government, as we have to give the Gaikwad credit, from the annual amount of collections, a proportion to equal to five months, or from June to November last, when the augmentation to the subsidiary took place, in which account the farm was transferred to the Hon'ble Company in perpetuity.

11. The cession of the haveli was resisted in every meeting which I had with His Highness, his opposition being created by a superstitious dread of the measure and the universal opinion of every member of his family and Government of its fatal consequences. It was a point of too much delicacy and importance to be settled, unless with the aid and counsel of the public servants, and I was again under the necessity of appearing in the Darbar to contest it. I had previously however taken means of communicating with the Minister with a view of moderating his opposition and of reconciling some of the most violent among the Gaikwad family. Haveli
discussion

12. His Highness repeated the same reasonings which he had so frequently advanced in reference to the haveli. His feelings appeared very acute, when he spoke of the valorous conduct of his father in defending that place against the formidable attacks of Aba Shelukar and of the consequent value he placed upon it. In these sentiments he was echoed by a crowd of dependants and by a general display of satisfaction at the animate language in which he addressed me. It would not have been proper at the first public meeting to have entered into any controversy with His Highness. I accordingly requested that he would appoint another day for continuing the discussion and admit only those persons who were actually the officers of the Government.

13. At this conference there was greater order. I began by assuring His Highness that it was not my desire to intimidate him into measures, however much they might be calculated to improve his own interests and those of my own Government; but that I expected a dispassionate consideration of my proposals, even some little sacrifice of predilections and prejudices, when the British Government had at heart any object that did not conduce to the injury of its ally. As to the objections urged on the ground that the haveli contained the throne of the former kings of Hindustan, I was at a loss to see what unpropitious effects could be produced by its being possessed by a Power, which, His Highness had himself acknowledged on repeated occasions, had saved the political existence of the Gaikwad.

Neither could I be sensible of the sad consequences of parting with the haveli, as in the various revolutions in the Government of Ahmadabad, which had alternately been possessed by the English, the Nawab of Cambay and the Marathas, nothing had followed to the Gaikwad but an accession of power and respectability. Deeming these objections to be venial, I could pay more respect to these feelings which His Highness had evinced, when he spoke of the haveli as connected with the military reputation of the late Maharaja Govindrao Gaikwad; but that I conceived His Highness, when giving a pleasing example of his filial attachment, might justifiably consider the degree of moral obligation to that Power, which had raised the Gaikwad name to an ascendancy surpassing its former high reputation, and considered its honour and interests with the scrupulous regard it had devoted to its own. It was not my wish, I continued to explain, to particularise the solid benefits which had been derived by the Gaikwad; nor could it be necessary, since they were obvious to the surrounding States and had made a deep impression on His Highness himself. But the object of our wishing to possess the haveli, being for purposes very foreign to those of aggrandisement, and important only in as much as it removed causes for serious inconvenience to our local regulations and [causes of] misunderstanding between the two States, it remained with His Highness seriously to consider my representation; and if he still persisted in denying the request for its transfer to British authority, I was ready, in the belief that the whole negotiation was inherently repulsive to his feelings, to cancel every part of them as a manifestation that my Superiors had no desire of advancing their views with the Gaikwad State, except in consonance with a free and unrestrained discussion.

Haveli ceded 14. His Highness retired with several of his servants to another apartment after he had heard my address to him; and he returned apparently much affected. He proposed that only fifty or even twenty-five of his people with a karkun should continue in the haveli, as it would ensure him a befitting place for his residence in case he or his principal relations should visit Ahmadabad and save his public character from objectionable imputations. In reply, I begged His Highness to believe that, if he should ever find it necessary to enter the Company's territories, the utmost respect should be shown to his exalted rank in assigning to him whatever conduced to his ease, comfort, and honour; but that I must adhere to my original declaration respecting the merits of the whole negotiation. At length with a considerable struggle he told me that the haveli should be resigned to us, (but that he did it with some forebodings, the influence of which he was unable to resist) and proceeded to declare with many courteous impressions towards me individually that the claims, which I had acquired on his confidence, and his regarding me with friendship and esteem had prevailed on him to concur in a measure which had not the sanction of another around him. He begged me literally and faithfully to explain these feelings to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, as well as the embarrassing situation to which has reduced by the late frequent demands on him for concessions. He entreated that I would henceforward adhere to the terms of the stipulation respecting exchanges of

territory, and concluded by an animated avowal of his fervent hope that, if we accepted the haveli, it would be the last of the sacrifices he would be called upon to make.

15. On the attainment of those objects, I requested His Highness *Sanad* to provide me with the sanad for the haveli and daskroi districts including all grants to individuals. He objected to insert the former until Government had declared its resolution to accept it; but his objects were overruled by my explaining that, until the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council were obtained, it was not in my power to require the occupation of the haveli or any other possession. The sanad was however returned in consequence of His Highness having inserted in it a claim for a cession, to make up for the difference between the value of the proposed assignment in Petlad and the present arrangements.

16. It was at this stage of the negotiations that I brought forward *Moghlai* the claim of territory on account of the moghlai (a statement of which had been sent to me by the Collector at Surat) settled to be granted by the 5th article of the supplemental treaty; and it gave rise to another scene of dispute by the Administration urging that this treaty could not be acted upon until it received the ratifications of the Governor-General. In reply to this argument I assured His Highness that there could be no doubt of the 5th article meeting the concurrence of the Governor-General; but that, as he reserved his right of executing it until the treaty was confirmed, the British Government had a title to suspend the same period the cession required for the difference in the value of the daskroi. The objections therefore, I continued to represent, were only calculated to delay the execution of an arrangement, which had been determined, and to occasion unnecessary trouble and inconvenience.

17. After my observation to this purport His Highness consented to give up his opposition; and the accompanying account exhibits the amount of revenue acquired, and what has been resigned in lieu of it in Petlad and by the moghlai impost, leaving a balance of Rupees 25,382-1-70, still to be accounted for to the Hon'ble Company. Before I proceed to state the arrangement made on this head, I beg leave to offer some remarks, on the terms upon which the daskroi district has been obtained from the Gaikwad Government. The Administration required me to accept it at the rental it has yielded for a series of years, namely Rupees 1,24,000; stating its reduction in the present year to Rupees 1,10,000 to have arisen from the British Government acquiring the city of Ahmadabad and dependent territories, and the want of rain in the last season. But this was successfully resisted on the grounds that the Gaikwad could not justly [require] a territory to be received, except at its value, when tendered. The inam and dumali-gaon grants have been transferred on a principle which without explanation may appear inconsistent with the foregoing observation. These are stated to yield Rupees 76,000, whereas this Government has allowed the different occupants to hold the villages for the last 20 years and upwards at the gross value of Rupees 56,000. My consent to receive them at the former valuation was given from a

conviction that the whole cession will at least yield the amount of 1,86,000 Rs. and [from] the fact that in the progress of some reforms in inam possessions, which I had recommended to the attention of the Administration, the Gaikwad was on the eve of assessing the grants of inam and dumali of the daskroi in the sum at which they have now been ceded to us. Under these circumstances I presume to hope that my proceedings in this instance will not be disapproved. It may not also be out of place to add that, if the daskroi pargana had been ceded when the exchange of Dhaboi, etc. was settled instead of the Petlad villages, it would have been transferred at the rental of that year or Rupees 1,24,000 instead as at present of Rupees 1,10,000.

18. With respect to an assignment for the balance exhibited in the account, His Highness proposed and adhered to his resolution that it should be made from the possession in the Surat athavisi. As the amount is small, the territory in the neighbourhood of Surat may perhaps answer our purpose better than elsewhere. It is accordingly arranged for [in] that quarter, but I have avoided to point any particular villages, until the Hon'ble Board may be pleased to inform whereabouts in the vicinity of Surat it might be most advantageous to us to have the assignment.

*Carnac's
advice*

19. The arrangements reported in this dispatch complete the negotiations of territorial cessions and exchanges, in which I have been ordered to engage by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. They will render every modification in the supplemental treaty, required by your dispatch of the 28th of January last, with exception of the restrictive clauses¹ contained in the 6th article, which it remains with the wisdom of Government to decide whether the extinction of this obligation is desirable under a knowledge [which] the recent discussions have afforded of the anxious desire of this Government to retain it. There is more difficulty in persuading Native States to any changes in their possessions than the first consideration of the subject develops; nor do I conceive that this Government will on any account voluntarily accede to the omission of the article. With this impression therefore I will venture with great deference to suggest that no change in this respect be demanded, but that events may be relied upon for agitating the suggestion of exchanges of territory as we may be in want of them. The result of the discussions for the haveli and daskroi district, in the face of the stipulation in the 6th article, is an example of what may be effected in the way of exchanges; and as this Government has shown itself pointedly tenacious of the restrictive clause, the feelings and apprehensions, which a proposal for its abrogation will engender, may not be recompensed by the improbable event of its successful result.

*Suggested
gesture*

20. The occupation of the haveli being interwoven so intimately with the political advantages and prosperity of Ahmadabad, I cannot deem it a duty, though an eye-witness to the conflicting feelings of His Highness Fatesing, to recommend that we forego the advantage of

¹ This refers to the promise that there would be no further attempt on the part of the British authorities to effect other changes of territory.

1818 *Bombay, 23rd June, 1818 (1818, P. D. 450)*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

*Treaty
ratified*

His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General having been pleased to ratify the treaty concluded by you with the Government of Baroda on the 6th of November last, I have been directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to transmit the same to you.

2. The treaty, you will observe, has been ratified without alteration.

*Haveli &
daskroi*

3. The Governor-in-Council having grounds for believing that you have continued your negotiations with Fatesing with the view of obtaining the cession of the haveli and the daskroi villages, and being extremely desirous of accomplishing that object, under a conviction that it will remove many grounds of future differences between the two Governments, I am commanded to acquaint you that, if that conclusion be correct, and you have reason to be satisfied that the cession will be made with the same spirit of cordiality with which your negotiation of the treaty abovementioned has been generally conducted, the Governor-in-Council, has no hesitation in authorising you to modify the 4th article accordingly by the annexation of a supplemental article or by an explanatory notification in the schedule to be annexed to the treaty.

4. The measure however is not to be attempted at the hazard of disturbing the reciprocal good understanding at present subsisting with the Gaikwad State. You will therefore consider these instructions as discretionary, and that you are entirely at liberty to deliver the ratified treaty without any renewal of the negotiations, should you judge it expedient.

5. It is extremely desirable that the schedule of the territories ceded should be completed and forwarded to the Governor-in-Council at the earliest period.

1818 *Fort William, 14th August, 1818 (1818 P. D. 454)*

J. Adam to Francis Warden.

Approval

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 8th ultimo, enclosing the copy of a report from the Resident at Baroda of his proceedings in endeavouring to obtain the consent of the Gaikwad's Government to the cession of the haveli of Ahmadabad and the daskroi villages, and successful issue of the negotiations.

Although, for the reasons stated in the Governor-General's dispatch of the 4th of May to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, His Lordship would have waved the advantages of that arrangement rather than have sought their attainment at the risk of creating dissatisfaction in the mind of the late Raja Fatesing and his Ministers, yet His Lordship is too sensible of the benefit involved in obtaining those cessions not to have learned with great satisfaction that Captain Carnac has been able to prevail on Fatesing to consent to them, without incurring such a consequence.

The Governor-General-in-Council considers Captain Carnac's success in this affair as a strong proof of the confidence and goodwill, with which he was regarded by the late Raja Fatesing, and consequently of the prudence and conciliating spirit of his ministry at Baroda, and to entitle Captain Carnac to the further expression of His Lordship-in-Council's approbation.

I am directed to acquaint you to state to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Governor-General-in-Council entirely approves of Captain Carnac being instructed to execute an article supplemental to the treaty lately ratified, containing the new stipulations regarding the cession of the haveli of Ahmadabad and the other arrangements announced in Captain Carnac's dispatch now under consideration.

Baroda, 6th September, 1818 (1818 P. D. 454)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I beg leave in the first place to mention that there was an error in the statement, which accompanied my letter of the 15th June, in Rupees 1,652, which constituted an item of demand against this Government on account of the collection made by the Company of killadari dues from the inam villages to the family of Tukoji Pol in the Kaira district, and had been overlooked in the exchange of the pargana of Vijapur, as reported in my communication of the 4th December, 1816. Those 1,652 Rupees have been twice debited in the statement, consequently on the detection of the inaccuracy of our demand against the Gaikwad, it became reduced in a corresponding amount, namely to 23,730-1-70, instead of Rupees 25,382-1-70, as exhibited in the enclosed rectified statement.

*Exchange
of ter-
ritories*

The Administration, on being furnished with a memorandum of the different assignments, which I proposed to them on the information afforded me by Mr. Morison, offered the kasbah of Mota and the pargana of Tadkeshwar, which, being as desirable to the Company as any other of the mahals, I have accepted in deference to the particular wishes of the Government that this should be the cession.

Baroda, 29th September, 1818 (1818, S. D. 308)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have now the honour to furnish a schedule of the territories ceded in jaidad by the Gaikwad under the supplemental treaty of the 6th November, 1817, to the Hon'ble Company on account of the augmentation of the subsidiary force. This document enumerates those mahals of the farm of Ahmadabad, which by that public instrument now belong to the British Government, the Gaikwad having in the negotiation with His late Highness Fatesing retained all tributary rights belonging to the Poona State in the Mahi Kantha.

*Territories
ceded*

2. Pursuant also to the orders of Government, I submit the additional article formally executed by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, consequent to the negotiation reported in my letter dated the 15th of June last, for the cession of the Gaikwad daskroi district

and haveli at Ahmadabad. It is accompanied by a statement of the different exchanges which have taken place for the consolidation of the Honorable Company's territories in Gujarat.

3. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, will also perceive at the close of the additional article that I have ventured, without a previous reference to his commands, to exchange the kasbah of Petlad, for an equivalent. I was aware that the Hon'ble Board desired to make some arrangement by which the anomalous system of government at Petlad would be obviated, but at the same time my orders forbade me to urge any change likely to be repugnant to the feelings of the Gaikwad.

4. As I had found this Government unwilling to resign its moiety of the rights and revenue of the kasbah town of Petlad, I submitted to it a proposal, either to relinquish the Company's share upon equitable principles, or to fall into any plan which might be suggested to me, in order that a consolidated authority should be fixed there. It was very clear that our rules and regulations could not be made to conform to those of a Maratha Government, and that the kasbah would prove a perplexing dependency, if it did not become the means of disturbing the harmony which prevails with this Darbar. It was no object to the Hon'ble Company to retain it, provided a cession of corresponding revenue and respectability was made; but it might rather be converted into the means of advantage, by adopting the proposed cession to the desirable object of simplifying completely the boundary of our possessions. My proposal of receiving another cession in lieu of Petlad was accepted after some discussion. I had reserved to myself the right of selecting the equivalent; and having concerted a meeting with Captain Barnwall, senior Assistant to the Collector at Kaira, who was on deputation duty in the adjoining Company's districts, it was the opinion of the gentleman that the kasbah town of Umret was in every point of view an advisable possession, being an insulated spot in the Company's territories, calculated to interfere with many mediated arrangements of importance, and a full compensation, in his opinion, for the rights or interests we might surrender in the kasbah of Petlad. Under a knowledge therefore of the wishes of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to be disburdened of the divided system in Petlad, and possessed of the sentiments of a revenue officer of acknowledged experience in this province and approved judgment, I have ventured to entertain the hope that the immediate conclusion of this negotiation would not meet with objection from the Hon'ble Board. The gross revenue of the two kasbahs will be found stated in the document relating to the exchange of territory, and it points out the manner of providing for the small balance exhibited in favour of the Gaikwad, which includes his claims for moghlai dues in the Tadkeshvar district, authorized to be paid by your letter dated the 19th instant. A village yielding an annual revenue to the amount of the balance, may be transferred to this Government either from the Surat athavisi or the Petlad district as proves most acceptable to the Hon'ble Board; and I beg to suggest that an order be sent to the Collector of the district from which it may be determined to take the assignment.

5. The value of the different acquisitions, resulting from the supplemental treaty, measured in reference to the consideration of a more perfect consolidation of our authority and resources in Gujarat, may be worthy of remark, before I conclude the subject of the late negotiations of the Gaikwad. It will be found that the acquisitions were all immediately connected and intermixed with our previous possessions in the Province. This circumstance of itself seems calculated to prove beneficial to our interests, and particularly to the better and more tranquil administration of our government. But in other respects, whether in contemplation of the desire expressed by the Government of Bengal and Bombay for a defined uninterrupted territory, or [*whether in contemplation of*] the extreme productiveness of which the recent cessions and exchanges are susceptible, I should presume to believe that no acquisition in this part of India can contain within the same space either intrinsic or local advantages of superior importance. Our possessions with the late cessions may be best discriminated by a reference to the map. Commencing at Gogha and Bhavnagar and to the southward, we shall find them extend northerly in a line down through Rampur to Patri on the margin of the lesser Rann; from thence a direction eastward through Viramgam, Ahmadabad, Kapadvanj, to Balasinor and Virpur on the banks of the river Mahi; and southerly proceeding along the bank of the river to Dehivan on the confines of Cambay pargana, and afterwards by the limits of this small district by the course of the Sabarmati stream as far as the city of Ahmadabad.

6. In this tract, the authority of the Company is neither interrupted or intermixed with the possessions of any other power excepting the Gaikwad's share of the district of Petlad, which, being composed of villages inhabited by the most peaceable classes, will never be found to interfere with the tranquillity or good order of the surrounding country.

Additional Article.

It having been stipulated in the 4th article of the foregoing treaty that, in exchange for the districts of Dabhoi, Bahadurpur and Savli, one half of the city of Ahmadabad and a part of the villages in the Gaikwad's share of the pargana of Petlad be ceded to the Hon'ble Company, the contracting parties on further consideration have substituted the following arrangement, including therein the cession on account of the moghlai dues on the districts belonging to the Gaikwad in the Surat athavisi, as agreed for in the 5th article of the same treaty, namely; the district known as the Gaikwad's daskroi inclusive of dumala and inam assignments, with the haveli in the city and kasbah of Mota and the pargana of Tadkeshwar in the Surat athavisi, as specified in the annexed detailed account of territories and rights so exchanged.

It being also mutually desirable, for the interest and convenience of both Governments to promote more effectually the consolidation of their power and authority, that the rights over the kasbah town of Petlad should be transferred to one or other of the contracting parties, His Highness Anand Rao Gaikwad has agreed to cede, in exchange for

the Company's rights in the kasbah of Petlad only, his rights in the kasbah town of Umret.

No. 1 List of territories ceded in order to provide for the payment of the additional troops subsidised.

Territories See Aitcheson, Treaties, Vol. VI, p. 139. The cessions are also mentioned in the next document.

No. 2. Letter to James R. Carnac, dated 26th October.

Summary I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 29th of last month, transmitting a schedule of the territories ceded in jaidad by the Gaikwad to the Hon'ble Company under the supplemental treaty of the 6th November, 1817, in consequence of the late augmentation of the subsidiary force.

The discussions, which have taken place with the Gaikwad Government, appear to have been brought to a very satisfactory conclusion and in a manner creditable to you, especially in the exchange of our share in the kasbah of Petlad for the town of Umret, which, independently of other advantages which attach to it, is so well calculated for the sudder station of the eastern zilla north of the Mahi.

It is extremely desirable that the village to be ceded to the Gaikwad, to make good the balance of Rupees 2,117-1-6 in favour of His Highness, as exhibited in the schedule transmitted by you, should be selected out of those which have only recently been annexed to and enjoyed the blessings of the British Government. The Governor-in-Council has been pleased to determine that such selection shall be made from the Petlad district and orders have been issued to the Collector accordingly.

The additional article to the supplemental treaty has been transmitted for the ratification of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Governor-in-Council is desirous of being informed of the date or dates from which these cessions are to be considered to have been made. From the correspondence which has passed on this subject, the Peshwa's share of the city of Ahmadabad and its daskroi pargana, Viramgam, Parantej, and the Peshwa's share in Harsoli, and Morassa, Panch Mahals: viz. Mahmudabad, Alina, Tasra, Untroli, Balisnor and Virpur, and half of the pargana of Petlad appear to be transferable from the 30th of November, 1817, exclusive. If this conclusion be correct, the date of the transfer of the Gaikwad's half of the city of Ahmadabad, and its daskroi villages, and of Umret alone remains to be fixed. I have it further in command to desire you will transmit for the information of Government a statement of the tributary rights which appertained to the late Poona Government in the Mahi Kantha, of which the records furnish no detailed information.

No. 3. Letter to the Supreme Government, dated 26th October.

We have the honour of transmitting to Your Lordship-in-Council *Calcutta informed* copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 29th of last month; enclosing the schedule of the territories ceded in jaidad by the Gaikwad under the supplemental treaty of the 6th of November, 1817, in consequence of the augmentation of the subsidiary force.

We also enclose the additional article, formally executed by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, under which the daskroi district and haveli at Ahmadabad are ceded to the Hon'ble Company, for Your Lordship's ratification, accompanied by a statement of the different exchanges which have taken place for the consolidation of the British territories in Gujarat.

The only variation in the arrangements, which have already received Your Lordship's approbation in the course of these negotiations, is the substitution of the town of Umret in exchange for our share of the kasbah Petlad, which has received our entire approbation as an arrangement, which from its local advantages is particularly desirable.

Bombay, 31st December, 1818 (1818 S. D. 309)

1819

At a Consultation

Read the following letter from the Supreme Government dated *Letter* the 28th of November, returning the schedule of territory ceded by the Gaikwad Government under the supplementary treaty with the additional article duly ratified.

Letter from Fort William, 28th November, 1818.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch *Approval* of the 26th October, enclosing the schedule of the territories ceded by the Gaikwad under the supplementary treaty, concluded on the 6th November, 1817, together with the additional article regulating the further cessions and exchanges settled since the execution of the treaty.

2. *These instruments having been duly ratified are now trans-*mitted to your Hon'ble Board for the purpose of being forwarded to the Resident at Baroda and delivered to the Gaikwad.

Bombay, 12th February, 1819 (1819 P. D. 467)

1819

Mr. Newnham to James Williams.

It having been determined that the haveli of Ahmadabad has been *Jurisdiction* to all legal intents and purposes under the jurisdiction of the question Ahmadabad courts ever since the conclusion of the supplementary treaty between the Gaikwad and the Hon'ble Company, and that the Magistrate and Court of Circuit should take cognisance of all crimes thenceforward committed in that place, without reference to persons whether subjects of the Gaikwad or of the British Government, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to authorise you to call upon the Gaikwad Government to deliver up to the British

magisterial authority at Ahmadabad, Jamadar Bhura, the son of Shavba, Jamadar, charged with having been concerned in the murder of a Bania within the haveli in that city, in order that he may be brought to trial before the criminal court at that station.

No. 1. Letter from Mr. Williams to Newnham, dated 22nd April, 1819.

Refusal I have not been able to induce His Highness to consent to the surrender of the jamadar in question. His Highness conceived that, as long as his troops were permitted to remain in the haveli, and his flag was flying, they were subject only to his authority, and that they were allowed to stay until carriage could be provided for the stores by the British Government, with no stipulation for their being subjects to our laws.

His Highness said he should investigate the merits of the case and inflict such punishment, in case of the guilt of the party being proved, as should be considered adequate to the offence, and requests that I would make known the feelings he entertained upon the subject to the Right Hon'ble the Governor.

No. 2. Letter from Mr. Newnham to Hugh George Macklin, dated 4th May, 1819.

Explanation I am on this occasion instructed to inform you that, although the murder was committed after the date of the treaty for ceding the haveli at Ahmadabad, yet the same had not been taken charge of by the British Government; and it may be here observed that a Government, consenting to receive a territory in cession, can afford no protection to that country until it receives charge; and this may in many instances be at a distant date from that of the treaty, which may require the sanction of a distant authority. Now, if the authority of the ceding Government was to be considered at an end from the date of the treaty, the country would be left without any Government at all from that date to the date when the possession is actually taken by the new Government.

No. 3. Letter from the Advocate General, Mr. Hugh George Macklin, to Mr. Newnham, dated 18th May.

Reply I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant with its enclosure, referring to my reconsideration the question of jurisdiction in the case of a murder committed by a jamadar of the Gaikwad, in a haveli within the city of Ahmadabad, the British Government having been in possession of the city long previous to the murder, but the Gaikwad troops continuing in the haveli at the time the murder was committed.

It is certainly competent for the British Government to waive the claim of jurisdiction and deliver over the jamadar to the Gaikwad for trial, if such a course should be deemed politically expedient. But I have no doubt that Government has also a right to insist upon its own jurisdiction and to claim the jamadar from the Gaikwad on the principle of his having committed a capital offence in our territory. The haveli, I understand, is only a house or residence in the

centre of a great city, and the idea of retaining a sovereignty in such a spot, surrounded as it is on all sides by British territory, and even after it had been formally transferred to the Company, though possession was not delivered, would not be reconcilable to any known principle of the law of nations of which I am aware. I consider the haveli more as a private possession than the royalty, though it did belong to the Prince, and I continue to think it within the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts.

No. 4. Minute by the Governor,

Under this report, any opinion I may have formed on the legality *Orders* of the question, must of course be disregarded; and as a murder has been committed, I think we are bound to call on the Gaikwad Government to deliver up the offender, that the ends of public justice, which it is our duty to see administered, may be satisfied.

In the argument to be used by Mr. Williams, I think he may fairly take this ground: that a material distinction would exist, if the person murdered had been a person serving under the jamadar, instead of a subject of the Hon'ble Company, not forming a part of the garrison of the haveli; but, under the evidence given, he had been enticed into the haveli; and that under these considerations, we trust, he will no longer hesitate in delivering up the offender, that he may be tried by our laws, which, he may be assured, will be duly administered.

No. 5. Letter to James Williams from Mr. Newnham, dated 10th June, 1819.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter dated the 22nd April *Orders* last I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of one from the Advocate General, dated the 18th ultimo, and to direct you to call on the Gaikwad Government to deliver up the person of *Bhura* jamadar, accused of murder, in order that the ends of public justice may be satisfied.

In the argument to be used by you, in case this measure should be opposed by the Gaikwad Darbar, you will point out that a material distinction would exist if the man murdered had been a person serving under the jurisdiction of the jamadar, instead of a subject of the Hon'ble Company, not forming a part of the garrison of the haveli, but enticed into it, as clearly appears from the evidence given on the occasion.

Under these circumstances the Governor-in-Council trusts the Gaikwad Government will no longer hesitate in delivering up the offender, that he may be tried by our laws, which His Highness may be assured, will be duly administered.

Baroda, 28th August, 1819 (1819, P. D. 470)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated *Delay* the 4th instant respecting the surrender of *Bhura*, jamadar, to the British Government, and to inform you that I have again agitated the

question, but without any success; His Highness merely saying that, if the British Government insisted upon the measure, he could not avoid giving up the jamadar. I have therefore not spoken to His Highness on the subject since, and await the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

Minutes, 27th September.

Orders In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter ordered the Acting Resident be informed that it is not desirable that he should press the subject further; but that His Highness Sayajirao should be left to adopt such measures as he may judge proper for the punishment of the jamadar, taking it for granted that he will bring him to trial without delay, the crime alleged having been attended with circumstances of great atrocity.

1819 *Baroda, no date, April? 1819 (1819 P. D. 466)*

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

Sayaji's territorial demand At some of the interviews I have had with His Highness Sayajirao, after the transaction of the business upon which I was engaged, he has often introduced the subject of his zealous and faithful co-operation with us during the campaigns of 1817 and 1818, and noticed the services he is still rendering by the employment of a great proportion of his subsidiary in Malwa and a considerable body of his own horse and foot, and asked me whether the British Government intended him to share in any of the territory acquired in return for the value of his co-operation, and as some compensation for the great expense his Government had been subjected to. His Highness further remarked that a territory was obtained by the Nizam and Salabat Khan of Ellichpur. I told His Highness that I was not aware of any partition of territory having taken place, and having received the reply of Mr. Secretary Newnham to Captain Carnac's dispatch of the 22nd of February, 1819, the concluding paragraphs of which relate to this subject, I made use of them as arguments to convince His Highness that he had most essentially benefited by the arrangements, that have taken place, from the improved security and tranquillity of his territories; and that, although he had been exposed to an increased expense, such would have been unavoidable for the protection of his interests generally. To this and other arguments His Highness replied by urging on my attention the 8th article of the treaty, by which the Hon'ble Company had bound themselves to take into consideration the pretensions of the Gaikwad Government to benefit by any future partition of territory acquired in foreign wars,¹ and intimated his anxiety that I would make known these wishes and expectation to the Right Hon'ble the Governor.

His Highnesses pretensions to consideration seem, if admitted, to rest on the last treaty with the British Government, being concluded so late as the 8th November, 1817. No benefit or advantage, which the Gaikwad State did acquire by the treaty of Poona of the 13th of June, 1815, preceding, can be calculated on as resulting to them

1. See Supplemental treaty of 1817.

from the subsequent war. If therefore His Highness's Government have any claim to the benefit held out in the 8th article of the late treaty, or any just pretension to participate in the conquests acquired and obtained, in which their troops were employed, or in the general conquests throughout the war, it is on these grounds it is entitled to consideration.

It is true an exemption of four lakhs of Rupees of tribute has been obtained; but this is urged to be unequal to the just expectations the Gaikwad had reason to indulge; and doubts are started how far such a claim could have been enforced after the rupture which took place between the Peshwa, the British and their allies, of which the Gaikwad had become one. His Highness considers the tribute to have actually ceased from the date of the rupture.

The aid or force, contributed by the Gaikwad and available to the general objects of the war, may be calculated, exclusive of the subsidiary force, which amounts to Rupees 24,31,969-3-50, at the sum of Rs. 15,31,995-2-64 annually making a total of Rs. 39,63,965-1-54.

Letter from W. Newnham to C. T. Metcalfe, Secretary, Fort William, dated 13th May, 1819.

In continuation of the dispatch from this Government, dated 31st of March last, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to request that you will lay before His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council the accompanying copy of a letter from the Resident at Baroda on the subject of the claims of the Gaikwad Government to a further participation in the general benefits which have resulted from the late war. *Appeal to G.G.*

On this dispatch the Governor-in-Council deems it unnecessary to offer any further observations than those which are contained in the 4th and following paragraphs of the letter to Captain Carnac of the 17th March, which accompanied the dispatch to the Governor-General-in-Council, leaving it to His Lordship's consideration whether any weight can be attached to the remark of the Baroda Government regarding the annual payment to the late Peshwa's Government, from which it has relieved under the authority conveyed by Mr. Adam's letter of the 26th of September, 1818.

No. 5. GHASDANA DISPUTE

The documents contain a discussion of the ghasdana tribute: its meaning, its practice, and the right it conferred on the one who claimed it.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 9th March, 1819 (1819 P. D. 466)

1819

J. Williams to Mr. Newnham.

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter respecting the claim of the Gaikwad Government to ghasdana *question*

collections from the pargana of Thasra and other districts formerly belonging to the Peshwa and now subject to the Hon'ble Company.

2. This [Baroda] Government has viewed the agitation [by the British Government] of the question as to the justice or otherwise of this claim with much anxiety and alarm, not only from the amount levied under the denomination of ghasdana from Kathiawar and other places, aggregating a considerable sum, but from an apprehension that this is merely a prelude to further discussions affecting the interests of their Government, and that eventually their right even to collect tribute from the Chieftains in Kathiawar would be disputed.

3. I have assured them that, as the British Government have in every instance supported the established rights of the Gaikwad, they ought not to have any distrust of the motives of the British Government in investigating the principles and origin of this claim, which it was necessary for the mutual harmony of the two States to be clearly understood.

4. It appears that an exaction, similar to the ghasdana existed under the Mogul authority, prior to the conquest of Gujarat by the Marathas, under the name of Keshri Beura [*Khichri Vera*], which was levied from the inhabitants in addition to the fixed revenues of the country.

Origin 5. The Marathas appear, from the information I have been able to procure, to have established in opposition to this levy a tax under the denomination of ghasdana and to have collected it anterior to the partition of Gujarat by the Peshwa and Gaikwad. When this was carried into effect on the expulsion of the Mogul authority, the districts in the vicinity of Ahmadabad fell to the share of the Peshwa and those remote, to the Gaikwad.

6. When the Gaikwad proceeded to realise his tribute, his troops had to pass through the Peshwa's territories; which necessarily caused much injury to the villages lying upon the road; and the different chiefs, whose possessions they passed through, to avert this evil settled for the payment of a sum of money, which was called ghasdana, in lieu of the troops as heretofore taking free forage; and the Peshwa's authority, when passing into the zilla of Halvad to collect his tribute, levied ghasdana from the Gaikwad taluka of Dhrol, which lay upon his road. The cause of the Peshwa's not having collected so much as the Gaikwad under the head of ghasdana, arises from the necessity, which the farmers of the revenues of the former found to exist for their realising their tribute through the aid of the Gaikwad officers and their troops, as in those days the regular tribute was never paid without the presence of a larger force than the Peshwa's officers were able to maintain; and many instances could be adduced of the successful resistance of the Peshwa's tributaries to the troops of the farmer.

Nature 7. It may be useful to refer to Colonel Walker's opinion of the nature of this ghasdana exaction, as given in his letter to the Secretary to Government under date the 1st March, 1803, in the case of the Thakur of Gorasir in the pargana of Munda, belonging to the Company, paying

ghasdana to the Gaikwad, which he was anxious to transfer to the Company. As the payment of the Chief of Gorasir is a regular part of the Gaikwad revenue, it is unnecessary to observe that it cannot be accepted by the Company, and it is not in the power of that Chief to dispose of the rights of another. Here Colonel Walker evidently considers the ghasdana levy as a branch of the established revenue of the Government.

8. It does not appear that we entertained any doubt of the validity of the Gaikwad's claim to ghasdana, when that prince gave in jaidad to the Company the mahals for the expenses of the subsidiary force, in which the Nadiad pargana was included; and the revenues falling short of the estimate, we accepted the cession of his ghasdana dues amounting 4,000 Rupees from villages in that pargana, which, had not the revenue fallen short of their first estimate, would have continued to have been levied by the Gaikwad. The ghasdana of the Gaikwad in the cession of Kapavanj was included in the jama of that district, when it was estimated at Rupees 5,000.

9. The exaction of ghasdana was never made through the officers of the Government of the country, on which it was levied. It was an agreement of the zamindars to relieve themselves from the presence of a body of irregular soldiery; and as these exactions do, they come in time to be considered as an established source of revenue.

10. To substantiate the fact of its having been collected by the Gaikwad during the management by the Peshwa's officers of Ahmadabad and its dependencies, and from the earliest date, 1782, I enclose a translate of the official records of this Government, which show that the levy has been established for 32 years in place of 20 years, and has been collected during that time, at no less than 12 different periods, by the Gaikwad officers, from the districts of Antroli and Taprah; the extracts from the Gaikwad daftar specify the dates.

Previous to 1839 or 1711-2, the Gaikwad authority was established at Patan; and owing to the changes which about that period took place in Gujarat and the removal of the Gaikwad authority to Baroda, many of the records of Government disappeared, and do not now appear forthcoming.

11. The sanad of the Peshwa makes over to the Gaikwad his ghasdana of Dhrol, but could not of course make over what did not appertain to him, namely the ghasdana collected by the Gaikwad in the Peshwa's districts.

12. With respect to the objection, urged to the validity of the claim from its never having been levied without the presence of a force, I have only to refer to the state of every Native Power in India to prove that the revenues of a country, whether by tribute or otherwise, have never been realised without that most essential aid. I of course exclude those countries where the British Government have exerted a beneficent influence.

13. The paper I now transmit will, I doubt not, satisfy the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the propriety and justice of

the Gaikwad claims. No objections will be offered on the part of this Government to these dues being collected through the Company's officers, nor will they object to their being settled at the amount fixed by Captain Ballantine.

14. By this arrangement the argument, so forcibly and justly urged, of the misery and ruin, in many cases entailed upon the inhabitants by the presence of an irregular and lawless soldiery employed in collecting this portion of the revenue, falls to the ground. That considerable excesses have been committed by Gaikwad officers in the collection of the revenue, I am not prepared to dispute; for the constitutions of most Native Governments are so imperfect, and so totally inadequate to the maintenance of an efficient control over the acts of their high officers, that many of their proceedings, though in disobedience to the orders of their Government, and detrimental to the welfare of the State, pass unnoticed and remain unchecked; but I can safely affirm that, since the influence of the British Government has been established at Baroda, the excesses and misconduct of its officers and troops have been trifling in comparison with those of neighbouring States.

Gaikwad claims 15. The Gaikwad levies ghasdana from Chhota Udaipur, which is tributary to Holkar, and also from Lunavada, which is tributary to Sindia; and this claim has never been doubted. The Nawab of Balasinor can have no greater title to exemption from the payment of ghasdana than any of the districts in the Panch Mahals or Kathiawar; and I trust the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will pass a [decision] upon this subject as early as may be convenient, as it is one which this Government are naturally very anxious about.

A statement of ghasdana claims that are collected from the talukas of the zamindars and all the peshkash mahals.

Ghasdana statement The subahdari being given to Najimal Daula Momin Khan Bahadur in the year 1149, in which year he assembled his army to settle the arrangements of the Kolis, and collect the tribute of the zamindars, and to receive the yearly Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*] from the parganas; and during his absence he appointed Fida-ud-din Khan to transact the business in the city; and Rankoji, the gumashta of Damajirao Gaikwad, who was proceeding towards Vijapur and Idar, remained with him some time; but on account of the deficiency of his share, he separated his army to make his own collections. Momin Khan, having collected the peshkash of his part, returned to the city of Ahmadabad by the way of Chuwar; and Damajirao, having gone to Surat and having collected more money from thence, returned to his place at Songarh. In next year and proper time Momin Khan gave Fida-ud-din Khan the charge of the army for the purpose of settling the engagements and collecting the tribute and Kacheri Beura. [*khichri vera*], and in 1150 Momin Khan placed Fida-ud-din Khan as the deputy in the city, and went to release Viramgam, which was in the possession of the Marathas; from which place he went to Kadi pargana and, having taken the tribute, returned to Ahmadabad. In short, yearly, on account of the coming and going of the Marathas, the country was destroyed, and the Marathas established an amount of

ghasdana in opposition to the Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*] of the Mogul. From this time it is known that the Gaikwad ghasdana was established in opposition to the Mogul Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*] in the time of Damajirao Gaikwad and the Mogul sarsubah. On account of taking this Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*] yearly, the profits of the subah were lost, and the expenses of the sibandi were increased. He therefore paid them a part, and gave them promissory notes for the remainder. This plan pleased them. Again in the year 1155 Hijri, Momin Khan wished to assemble the army for settling the engagements and collecting the peshkash from the zamindars in the country of Surat. For after the time of Mubavir Mul no one had gone to collect the tribute. On this account on the 22nd of Shaban or June he took the Gaikwad deputy, named Ranku, and proceeded to the zilla of Surat, and having marched towards the parganas of Loliana and Goghabandar, and having settled the peshkash upon Bhavsing, the zamindar of Seor village and Bhavnagar, he went to the parganas of Danta, Mowa and Talara, from which he went to Kathiawar; and having collected the peshkash he went to the zilla of Halar, and halted at Navanagar, which is the place of the Jam, who is zamindar; between whom there was a battle; at length the Jam agreed to the settlement of the peshkash to be paid by him; after which on the 29th of this month (Shaban) he marched, and on the road he took from the zamindars' money, according to the means they possessed of payment; and on the 18th of Zilhijjah or February he arrived in the city of Ahmadabad; and on the 18th of the Muharram died in the city; after which Jawan Mard Khan Babi was nominated to the subahdarship. At this time period, in the year 1162, the Peshwa Balajirao and Damaji Gaikwad, after deliberation regarding the division of Gujarat, came to Gujarat and along with Jawan Mard Khan Babi, and settled the number of places he was to retain, and took from him the subahdari. From this day the subahdari was divided between the Peshwa and Gaikwad. After which the Gaikwad's part of the peshkash and ghasdana, which was settled many years ago, in opposition the Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*], was collected from different places of the Peshwa's share [*which*] he had to pass on the road. The meaning is this: on the distribution the Peshwa's [share] was close to Ahmadabad, and the Gaikwad's share on the opposite side of the Peshwa's. On this account when the Gaikwad's army went to collect their own share or tribute, they had to go through the Peshwa's talukas, whose zamindars to preserve their own places remained there to give the ghasdana, that the army might the sooner leave the place, if not, according to the Maratha custom, on account of grass and wood there would be a disturbance. It was necessary this should be done, and in like manner the Peshwa's subahdars took from the Gaikwad's share Kacheri Beura [*khichri vera*] by the name of ghasdana. For instance, when the Peshwa's army went to the zilla of Halar in the taluka of Navanagar, the Gaikwad taluka of Drol was in the way, from which place they took ghasdana.

Minute by Prendergast, dated Bombay, 28th March, 1819.

Colonel Walker's description of the ghasdana, quoted in the 7th Nature of paragraph of the Acting Resident of Baroda's letter of the 9th instant, *ghasdana*

as being a regular part of the Gaikwad revenue, appears to want confirmation. Indeed to denominate this a branch of the established revenue of the Government seems contradictory of the nature of the exactions as acknowledged on all hands.

There is no doubt I imagine existing in the mind of any member of this Government as to the original nature of the ghasdana [from] the report, now before us, as well as those received from every preceding Resident who has written on the subject. However they have all in my opinion misunderstood the after part of the question. Admit, as the very word ghasdana explains, that it was grass and gram supplied for the horses and cattle of an army actually present, on whatever account. It may have been somewhat similar to the forced contributions by armies in Europe, passing through neutral or an enemy country, for forage, bread, meat, liquor, etc. The only question however is, as to whether it ever did change its original character into a settled contribution and become a regular established tribute. Now, if it can be shown that it never did change its character in any instance, shall we not hesitate before we allow the British Government to become tributary in a regular sum to another State for an exaction (most truly deserving that name) that never was made but in its original character, and to the presence of an army, to the commanders, on their own account, to expedite their departure and induce them to restrain their irregular soldiery and followers from those wanton excesses, which always marked their march through every country, when not thus bought off and conciliated? I never heard any doubt but that this was the true nature of the payment; and that it was so, is evident even from the report now before us, in the 9th paragraph of which it is stated that "The exaction of ghasdana was never made through the officers of the Government of the country on which it was levied. It was an agreement of the zamindars to relieve themselves from the presence of irregular soldiery."

I think however Mr. Williams's assumption in his 11th paragraph that the revenues, whether by tribute or otherwise, of every Native Power in India not connected with us, are never realised without the essential aid of a force, is inaccurate. The tribute of mulukgiri and such like demands are usually levied by means of an army, but not, in general, the regular revenues.

That the ghasdana had not settled into an established revenue to the Government is evident from the acknowledged additional facts: that it has always remained distinct from the regular tribute, where one has been paid; that it has always varied in its amount, which depended upon special agreement made between the commanders of the irregular soldiery and the zamindars of the country in which they happened to be present; and that it has been the practice of Maratha armies to take it (as stated in the 6th paragraph of the report now before us) even in passing through the territories of an independent and friendly Powers, and that its amount and frequency of realisation depended upon the strength of the force and the times of its actual appearance in the country from which they exacted it.

This being then the real and, on all hands acknowledged, original nature of the payment, I would ask: Is it all likely the commanders and irregular soldiery of a Native State would consent to a transfer of an acknowledged or at least usual emolument of their own, to their Government? or the Government seek such transfer? It could have been of no consequence to the Chiefs or tributaries whether it was carried to the credit of Government or enjoyed by the irregular soldiery, provided the object, for which they agreed to pay it, was still attained. But who that recollects the licentious and unrestrained practices of a Maratha army, will suppose that this could be expected? If the Native Government, to which they belonged, insisted upon the ghasdana being carried to its own credit, can there be a doubt but their irregular soldiery would still exact a ghasdana over and above on their own account? What was to restrain them from doing so and proceeding as described in Mr. Williams's 6th paragraph? and would not the Chiefs of the country be under precisely the very same necessity, they were under in the first instance, of complying with their demand?

The kacheri beura (or vera) [*khichri vera*], adverted to in the 4th paragraph of the Acting Resident's report, may perhaps have been another name for an exaction by the Moguls of a nature similar to that of the ghasdana of the Marathas. Their armies were not so almost exclusive cavalry as those of the Marathas; and kacheri [*khichri*] is the name of the common food of the troops, as ghasdana is literally grass and gram for the horses. Veras however are assessed taxes over and above the jamabandi and apportioned, as the latter is, in fixed sums payable by each village, or is a percentage on the amount land revenue and collected as the latter is by the Government officers. Veras are of recent date; they were not known in the time of the celebrated Todar Mall, the Revenue Minister of the Emperor Akbar, whose revenue records are extant. But afterwards, in the decline of the Muhammadan Power and rise of that of the Marathas, the Moguls were forced to grant the Marathas a chaut or fourth of their regular jamabandi or established land revenue of their provinces; after which veras or assessed taxes for particular uses were introduced and kept separate from the regular jamabandi, in order that the Marathas should not participate in them; and it is very likely that the kachri vera [*khichri vera*] was an assessed tax nominally to defray the expenses of the royal or government table, collected, as all veras are, by the Government officers from the inhabitants, as described in Mr. Williams's 4th paragraph, in fixed sums from each village; and altogether so totally different in its nature and objects from that of the ghasdana, which is described in his 9th paragraph, not to be made through the Government officers, but an agreement by the zamindars to relieve themselves from the presence of a body of irregular soldiery and to restrain their excesses, that it appears incomprehensible how the one could possibly be a commutation of the other. For, whilst veras are fixed assessed taxes on the villages, the blanks in the columns of the returns forwarded by Mr. Williams are a sufficient proof that the ghasdana was an uncertain levy; and the whole report, shows to what it was owing, and when it was made, that it never was a pre-existing

division of Mahi Kantha proper, as not constituting the tributary territories forming that division of Gujarat. The Peshwa had claims to tribute from some of the Mahi Kantha Chieftains; it was to this tribute properly Captain Carnac's letter alluded.

I do not find that any deductions were made from the rental, at which the districts are inserted in the sanad from the late Peshwa to the Gaikwad of the farm of Ahmadabad. We accepted the districts composing the farm of Ahmadabad "subject to all the conditions of the farm". Now the sanad of the lease contains no acknowledgment of the Gaikwad's claim to that exaction, or in other words the conditions of the farm do not recognise the claim. The Gaikwad would never have accepted such a sanad, excluding his claim to ghasdana, had he possessed any right to it. The treaty then in one place would appear to be in favour of the claim, admitting it to refer to these districts; and decidedly adverse to it, in another.

A great difference of opinion prevails between Mr. Williams and Captain Robertson on a most material point, namely in respect to the periods for which the ghasdana has been levied. The latter states it to have been of recent origin and only paid in two instances; the former, that it was established about thirty-two years ago, and that it has been levied twelve different times. But even under Mr. Williams's statement it must have been successfully resisted or remained unpaid for twenty out of the thirty-two years.

The inference, justly deducible from this extraordinary fact, appears to me fatal to the claim. A revenue, realised only for twelve years out of thirty-two, must be established on a very suspicious basis. We have however a more decisive evidence against the justness of the present demand in Colonel Walker's report of the 2nd of July, 1806.

Referring to the intermixed state of the Peshwa's and Gaikwad's possessions in Gujarat and to the detached rights, such as the collection of the customs and ghasdana exercised by one or other of the States, that officer observes that in this intermixed state of dominion it would have been impossible to have carried on any of the ordinary duties of the Government without the liberty of marching troops through the possessions of each other. That accordingly by a mutual consent and understanding, since the period of the division of Gujarat, the forces of the Peshwa and of the Gaikwad, either for the purposes of mulukgiri or for any other regular object, may pass freely through the countries of each other; that in the event of the troops of either State passing through any part of the territory of the other, they were not authorised to make any collections, and were answerable for every extreme act of violence, but they claimed the exaction of *bini bhandari* as a tribute of respect to the flag. This was the rule in ordinary cases; but, when the force was headed by a person of very high rank, the same moderation was not always observed. For instance, when Fatesing Gaikwad proceeded on mulukgiri, besides the *bini bhandari*, he collected ghasdana from the Peshwa's districts, a custom which from this precedent has been sometimes followed by succeeding commanders, who had not the

or apprehensions) we are equally bound to uphold those of others; that, influenced by that disposition, we invite a discussion of his present claims; and with that view the arrangements, on which we view them as untenable, are submitted to His Highness's consideration for such explanations as the Baroda Government may have to advance in support of his pretensions in opposition to those views, which will meet with every attention on the part of the Governor-in-Council, whose ultimate decision, if not acquiesced in by His Highness, may be referred to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council.

Minute by the Hon'ble the Governor.

The minutes of my colleagues, Mr. Prendergast and Mr. Warden, *Summary* have certainly rendered very doubtful, to say the least, a question on which I had till lately understood no doubt had existed.

The origin of these claims has been fully explained; but, on whatever pretence ghasdana may have been collected, it has appeared to constitute after a certain time what is considered by the Native Powers a positive right, and in support of this opinion the advantages so derived have, as Mr. Williams asserts, been brought into the scale, in the instances therein pointed out, as a portion of the cession. That Lieutenant-Colonel Walker considered ghasdana to be a part of the Gaikwad's revenue, is manifest from the extract quoted by Mr. Williams, though it goes no further than to prove that such was the Lieutenant-Colonel's opinion. How far it is necessary that an annual collection should be made to establish this right, cannot be drawn from the extract alone.

In my communication with Captain Carnac, previously to his leaving the Presidency, he stated to me his opinion that the claims brought forward ought not to be existed [*resisted*], that they formed, according to the practice of the country, a fair claim; and supposing it to exist in the present instance, the advantage to be derived from its collection had not been transferred to us. I was not, I confess, aware that such a claim existed at the time of the cession of the territory to us, because I should have felt, as Mr. Prendergast does, the impropriety of the placing the British Government in the situation of a tributary to any other State, and should have called on the Gaikwad Government for a formal relinquishment of this claim.

As a measure of policy Captain Carnac was averse to our pressing the Gaikwad to relinquish these claims, especially, as he observed, after the liberal manner in which the assignments had been made for defraying the expense of the additional subsidy, as such proceeding would not fail to create a considerable degree of dissatisfaction in every part of the Baroda State.

But whatever consequences may be produced, it appears to be absolutely necessary that the admission or otherwise of the claim should be set at rest; and notwithstanding the opinion entertained by Captain Carnac, there appears to me to be so much sound reasoning in many parts of the minutes now before us, that I can feel no hesitation

A great difference of opinion prevails between you and Captain Robertson on a most material point, namely in respect to the periods for which the ghasdana has been levied. Captain Robertson states it to have been of recent origin and only paid in two instances, whilst it is stated by you to have been established about thirty-two years ago, and that it has been levied at twelve different times; but even under your statement it must have been successfully resisted or remained unpaid for twenty out of the thirty-two years.

The inference, justly deducible from this extraordinary fact, appears to the Governor-in-Council to be fatal to the claim. A revenue realised only for twelve years out of thirty-two must be established on a very suspicious basis. There is however a more decisive evidence against the justness of the present demand in Colonel Walker's report of the 2nd of July, 1806.

That officer observes that by a mutual consent and understanding, since the period of the division of Gujarat, the forces of the Peshwa and of the Gaikwad may pass freely through the countries of each other; that in the event of the troops of either State passing through any part of the territory of the other, they were not authorised to make any collections; but they claimed the exaction of *bini bhandari* as a tribute of respect to the flag. This was the rule in ordinary cases. But, when the force was headed by a person of very high rank, the same moderation was not always observed. For instance, when Fatesing Gaikwad proceeded on *mulukgiri*, besides the *bini bhandari*, he collected *ghasdana* from the Peshwa's districts, a custom which from this precedent has been sometimes followed by succeeding commanders, who had not the plea of superior rank. In like manner some of the Peshwa's *sarsubahs*, whose birth or interest at Poona might have given them extraordinary influence, have imitated the example of Fatesing by exacting *ghasdana* from the Gaikwad's districts; that when these exactions occurred, they were complained of by the local authorities; and the villages, from which the *ghasdana* had been levied, received credit from their respective Governments; on the other hand the Government, that sustained this loss, reclaimed it from the transgressing Government at the period of the next *jamabandi*; and these disputes were generally, if not always, amicably adjusted.

One of the strongest objections, which the late Peshwa urged against the renewal of the farm of Ahmadabad to the Gaikwad, was that it tended by the suspension of his authority to weaken and alienate his rights. It has proved so in this instance; for, whilst the Gaikwad has retained his own claim to *ghasdana* on the Peshwa's districts, he has entirely put a stop to those of the Peshwa on the Gaikwad's districts.

For these reasons, without reference at present to any other considerations, the Gaikwad's claim of *ghasdana* on the districts dependent on Ahmadabad must be held to be equally inadmissible with those we might revive on the Gaikwad territories.

Allusion is made by you to the amount of these claims having been fixed by Captain Ballantine; but there is no report from that

that it has always remained distinct from the regular tribute, where one has been paid; that it has always varied in its amount which depended upon special agreement made between the commanders of the irregular soldiery and the zamindars of the country in which they happened to be present; and that it had been the practice of Maratha armies to take it (as stated in the 6th paragraph of your report) even in passing through the territories of an independent and friendly Power; and that its amount and frequency of realisation depended upon the strength of the force and the time of its actual appearance in the country, from which they exacted it.

The Khichdi Beura (or vera) [*khichri vera*], adverted to in the 4th paragraph of your report, may perhaps have been another name or an exaction by the Moguls of a nature similar to that of the ghasdana of the Marathas. Their armies were not so almost exclusive cavalry as those of the Marathas, and Khichdi [*khichri*] is the name of the common food of the troops, as ghasdana is literally grass and grain for the horses. Veras however are assessed taxes over and above the jamabandi and apportioned, as the latter is, in fixed sums payable by each village, or is a percentage on the amount land revenue and collected, as the latter is, by the Government officers. Veras are of recent date, they were not known in the time of the celebrated Todar Mall, the revenue Minister of the Emperor Akbar, whose revenue records are extant. But afterwards, in the decline of Muhammadan Power and rise of that of the Marathas, the Moguls were forced to grant the Marathas chauth or a fourth of the regular jamabandi or established land revenue of their provinces; after which veras or assessed taxes for particular uses were introduced and kept separate from the regular jamabandi, in order that the Marathas should not participate in them; and it is very likely that the khichdi vera [*khichri vera*] was an assessed tax nominally to defray the expenses of the Royal or Government table, collected, as all veras are, by the Government officers from the inhabitants, as described in the 4th paragraph of your report, in fixed sums from each village; and altogether so totally different in its nature and object from that of the ghasdana, which is described in the 9th paragraph not to be made through the Government officers but an agreement by the zamindars, to relieve themselves from the presence of a body of irregular soldiery and to their excesses, that it appears incomprehensible how the one could possibly be a commutation of the other; for, whilst veras are fixed, assessed taxes on the villages, the blanks in the columns of the forwarded by you prove that the ghasdana was an uncertain sum, and the whole report shows to what it was owing, and when it was made, that it never was a pre-existing Government claim, but varied according to the agreement made between the zamindars and the irregular soldiery to expedite their departure, after the payment of pre-existing Government claims for revenue or tribute, which they sent to enforce, was realised. They were then to be conciliated, the amount depended upon their strength. The zamindars were to satisfy them, and the amount, which always varied, what it might be, was put into their own pockets. Under all these the Governor-in-Council is decidedly of opinion that

that it has always remained distinct from the regular tribute, where one has been paid; that it has always varied in its amount which depended upon special agreement made between the commanders of the irregular soldiery and the zamindars of the country in which they happened to be present; and that it had been the practice of Maratha armies to take it (as stated in the 6th paragraph of your report) even in passing through the territories of an independent and friendly Power; and that its amount and frequency of realisation depended upon the strength of the force and the time of its actual appearance in the country, from which they exacted it.

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officer on the records on the subject; and Government would not have admitted so unjust an infraction of the Peshwa's rights, had it been submitted to its consideration.

Equally untenable appears to the Governor-in-Council to be the claim the Gaikwad has advanced to ghasdana on the British tributaries in Kathiawar; and it is essentially necessary that it should be set at rest by an explicit declaration of the sentiments entertained by this Government on that question.

In fixing the tribute of Kathiawar in perpetuity Colonel Walker estimated the amount in commutation of every pecuniary claim which the Gaikwad or the Peshwa previously possessed on the bhumias. The portion of tribute belonging to the Gaikwad, thus defined and fixed, will be found to be greater than what he ever realised before, without the ghasdana. If his claim to that exaction on the Kathiawar Chieftains be admitted, that amount will exceed what Colonel Walker has fixed in perpetuity. The claim moreover cannot be made on the British Government, but must be levied on the bhumias; which would subject them, if admitted, to a greater payment than has been fixed in perpetuity in concert with the Gaikwad Government.

In regard to the original meaning of the term ghasdana there can be no doubt that it implied grass and grain supplied for the horses and cattle of an army actually present, on whatever account, and may have been somewhat similar to the forced contributions by armies in Europe, passing through neutral or an enemy's country, for forage, bread, meat, liquor, etc.; and it becomes an important question whether it ever did change its original character into a settled contribution and become a regular established tribute; since, if it never did change its character in any instance, it is an additional reason for Government to hesitate, before it allows the British Government to become tributary in a regular sum to another State for an exaction that never was made but in its original character, and to the presence of an army, to the commanders on their own account, to expedite their departure and induce them to restrain their irregular soldiery and followers from those wanton excesses which always marked their march through every country, when not thus bought off and conciliated. If ever there was a doubt of this being the true nature of the payment, it would be removed by the observation made in the 9th paragraph of your letter, where in it is stated that the exaction of ghasdana was never made through the officers of the Government of the country on which it was levied; it was an agreement of the zamindars to relieve themselves from the presence of irregular soldiery.

The assumption however made in the 11th paragraph that the revenues, whether by tribute or otherwise of every Native Power in India not connected with us, are never realised without the essential aid of a force, can hardly be supported. Tributes, mulukgiri, and such like demands are usually levied by means of an army; but not, in general, the regular revenues.

That the ghasdana had not settled into an established revenue to the Government is evident from the acknowledged additional facts:

that it has always remained distinct from the regular tribute, where one has been paid; that it has always varied in its amount which depended upon special agreement made between the commanders of the irregular soldiery and the zamindars of the country in which they happened to be present; and that it had been the practice of Maratha armies to take it (as stated in the 6th paragraph of your report) even in passing through the territories of an independent and friendly Power; and that its amount and frequency of realisation depended upon the strength of the force and the time of its actual appearance in the country, from which they exacted it.

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the British Government should not become perpetual tributaries in a regular sum to another State for an exaction (distinctly and strictly deserving that name) that never was made but in its original character and to the presence of a Maratha army.

These observations are communicated to you as containing the grounds on which the Gaikwad's claims to ghasdana, not only on the districts dependent on the late farm of Ahmadabad, but also on the Chiefs of Kathiawar, may be considered to be entirely inadmissible.

His Highness Sayajirao should be informed that, whilst the British Government is at all times disposed to respect his rights (in regard to which it is concerned to perceive he entertains any doubts or apprehensions), it is equally bound to uphold those of others; that influenced by that disposition, a discussion of his present claims is invited; and with that view the arguments, on which they are considered untenable, are submitted to His Highness's consideration for such explanation as the Baroda Government may have to advance in support of its pretensions, in opposition to those views, which will meet with every attention on the part of the Governor-in-Council, whose ultimate decision, if not acquiesced in by His Highness, may be referred to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council.

1820 Fort William, 8th January, 1820 (1820, P. D. 478)

C. T. Metcalfe to Francis Warden.

Decision 2. The Governor-General-in-Council is not satisfied that such claims can be justly asserted by the Gaikwad Government on districts added by itself to another Government, unless specifically reserved, and is much surprised that this point should have been left unsettled at the time of the cession. Nevertheless, as doubts are entertained on the subject, His Lordship seems it best to decide against ourselves, and is therefore disposed to authorise, a moderate compensation, in exchange for which the claim is to be relinquished.

Letter from Francis Warden to C. Metcalfe, dated 7th February, 1820.

Rejection I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th of last month, respecting the claims of the Gaikwad Government to the ghasdana collection from the districts ceded by the supplemental treaty of Baroda, and to request you will be pleased to acquaint His Lordship that the fact of those collections having been relinquished by the partition treaty of Gujarat may be probably reviewed as conclusive against the admission of the claim.

NO. 6. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The documents give an idea on what lines the Bombay Government proceeded in devising a new system for the administration of justice in Baroda.

DOCUMENTS

1809 Baroda, 25th December, 1809 (1810, P. D. 351)

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Court of Justice 20. One important improvement has been introduced into this Government by the appointment of a tribunal at Baroda for the

administration of justice. This, it may be observed, is a commencement only; but it is one of some importance and will by gradual ameliorations, introduced as they are found to be beneficial, prove the foundation for a regular judicial system applicable to the state of society.

Baroda, 11th October, 1812 (1813, P. D. 392)

1812

James R. Carnac to Sir Evan Nepean.

27. The arrangements of introducing a system for the administration of justice have not been overlooked in various opportunities offered for impressing its advantages on the mind of His Highness Fatesing. To subdue prejudice and to pervert customs of long existence are difficulties, which must yield only to our availing ourselves of the natural course of events, and by applying those occasions to the conviction of the mind, where the defect of practices are thoroughly exposed. *Court of justice*

28. It does not require much experience to perceive that, though some of the regulations on which justice is administered in a Native Government are calculated to acquire its ends with purity and effect, the practice in general cases is open to amendment.

29. In States, constituted on arbitrary principles, a course of summary justice is congenial to its spirit, and its delegation to agents is perhaps too often observed.

30. In the Gaikwad Government I am not conscious of having witnessed any instance of very precipitate examples in the capital; but it is impossible to say how far the exertion of power may be used in the dependencies far removed from the seat of Government. In cases of great enormity a reference should be made to the sovereign, but in other branches of justice it is subject to the pleasure of the local authority.

31. To remedy these evils it has been my study to induce the Administration to enter on a system embracing not merely the dispensation of justice in the capital, but extending it to every part of the Gaikwad dominions. Preparatory to this desirable step, by slow degrees, a court of public justice has been established in Baroda with an arrangement for the police of the town, which has proved productive of much advantage. Disputes of every description are now referred to the former, who report the process of justice for the confirmation of Fatesing; the police are entrusted with the protection of the town and [with] the guarding of the roads in its neighbourhood under the orders of the kotwals, subject to the court already mentioned.

32. The regulations for the police appear directed to the attainment of every good from such a useful establishment; and it is satisfactory to observe that, since this institution, crimes within this town have been less frequent, and scarcely a single instance of house, or road robbery has been brought to the notice of Government.

1812 Baroda 11th October, 1812 (1813, P. D. 392)

James R. Carnac to Sir Evan Napcan.

Plan In consequence of the frequent occasions for agitating the subject of a regular administration of justice His Highness Fatesing has recently required the plan, which would suit the purposes in contemplation. His Highness has consequently been furnished with a paper of which the accompanying is a translate and, from the consideration he has hitherto given it, is disposed to consider its adoption in a favourable point of view.

34. It may hardly be necessary to remark that many deficiencies in this proposed arrangement will appear evident, which in a course of execution may be remedied; but it will not fail, Hon'ble Sir, to give you satisfaction that His Highness has a tendency to follow our counsels in a branch of administration of the first moment to the substantial interest and respectability of his Government.

35. It cannot be expected that changes, so novel to the constitution of a Maratha Government, can immediately be carried into execution. The system is now in its infancy at Baroda after many strenuous attempts for its introduction; and it must in due time extend its influence to the general arrangements proposed to His Highness; whereas as precipitate course of proceeding may in a material degree defeat the great ends of the establishments; and if it is not adopted with the full concurrence of the authorities, under whose auspices it is to be maintained, or if we assert our own conviction of its advantages without imparting that conviction to the Government itself, the consequence may prove more in courtesy to our opinion and practice than for the humane object of public justice. To avail ourselves of events as they arise and to give the merit of the measure to the parties who are principally interested in its success, must in its issue provide for our own views with the advantages of knowing that the wishes of the Administration will be concurrent under such gradual process with the object we have so assiduously pursued.

36. Exclusive however of the advantage of the object abstractedly considered, on general policy, it may appear unadvisable to accelerate revolutions in customs that by prescription are perhaps viewed with attachment. The intentions of retiring by degrees from a superintendence of the domestic economy and internal Government of the Gaikwad would be prevented in effect by appearing now to force a change so unprecedented in the Government of a Maratha Power. The disposition which appears for such a change, may perhaps be considered of importance in the present stage; and it will on every reasonable calculation arrive at more maturity, if pursued on the same principles hitherto observed.

No. 1. Translation of a proposed regulation for the institution of an adaulat at Baroda.

Adaulat scheme The institution of an establishment for the regular administration of public justice is interwoven so intimately with the interest and respectability of every Government that no means to obtain this object

in its utmost effect should escape the attention of the Gaikwad Administration, under the knowledge of the present system being defective in many essentials for this important purpose. The following general regulations are therefore proposed to be adopted under the authority of His Highness Fatesing, leaving to future consideration the improvement which experience may point out, or that the customs of the community may render advisable.

Article 1st: It is necessary that a certain number of persons be named for the administration of justice in Baroda. The following are accordingly proposed.

A legitimate Gaikwad and two other persons of high character and respectability, of age and experience, who shall dread nothing more than reproach; also four karkuns on the part respectively of the fadnavis, khasgivala majmudar and munshi; these are to be men of understanding, and in whom trust may be reposed, and their duty to consist in taking security and administering oaths. There shall also be two shastri men, intimately acquainted with the Shastra, the one a Deccani and the other a Gujerati, also a Brahman, advanced in years and experience, a Mussalman Cazi and Moulvi, together with a Kunbi, who shall be possessed of an intimate knowledge of all the mahals with their several regulations or customs.

The above named persons to constitute the establishment of the court of justice at Baroda.

It shall be the duty of the karkun of the fadnavis to take all depositions.

The legitimate Gaikwad, in conjunction with the two persons already named, to inquire into all complaints that shall be brought before them; and having carefully and impartially consulted the laws, customs of the country, as also auspicious days, shall pronounce sentence, if a Hindu, according to the observances of the Shastra, if a Mussalman, according to the Muhammadan law, by the Shastri and the Cazi or Moulvi.

A seal to be made for the court of adaulat which is to be affixed to all papers, together with the signature of all the karkuns, and shall be deposited in the daftarkhana.

Article 2nd: A respectful public building to be assigned, in which there shall be separate apartments for the judges to receive depositions in, also for the daftarkhana, and a secure place allotted for confinement of prisoners.

Article 3rd: The court to assemble at 9 in the morning and continue sitting till 4 in the afternoon; and they shall number all petitions and suits that may come before them, and according to their number the causes are to be tried. By this arrangement the poor man's cause will not be delayed, neither will the rich have any preference shown to them. But the causes relating to thieves, murderers, or great offenders are not to be numbered. Justice shall be executed on them without delay.

Article 4th: The whole of the town sibandi and gates to be under the control of the adaulat, whose duty it shall be to send round watches at night to apprehend robbers, all courtezans, thieves, and vagabonds. They shall adjust the rates, weights and measures of the bazaar as also the rents of houses.

Article 5th: It shall constitute part of the duty of karkun of the majmudar to examine monthly the weights and measures of the bazaar. He shall also make a daily report to the sarkar of the rates at which articles are selling in the bazaar, and shall fix them at one standard according to the orders of the sarkar.

Article 6th: The duty of the karkun of the khasgivala shall consist in ascertaining the rent of houses, hire of houses, hamals, artificers, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and artificers of all descriptions.

The karkun of the munshi shall take charge of the prison and make the arrangements regarding it; the allowance of two annas per day to be paid for the prisoner by the person at whose suit he is confined, those apprehended by Government to receive their allowance from the sarkar.

Article 8th: If the court of adaulat shall be established in the above manner, it will preclude the necessity of keeping up the several chabutaras of the town, of the puras of Mahammad Wadi, Raopura, Futtepur, Ghee Kantha, etc.

Article 9th: The late Govindrao Gaikwad came into Gujarat in the year 1850 Samvat. From that period whatever complaints shall be brought before the court, they are to be tried. No complaints previous to that time to be listened to; and commission to be taken in this manner, viz. on causes of Rs. 1,000:5 per cent. of Rs. 10,000:4 per cent.; beyond the sum of Rs. 25,000:2½ per cent.; and the fines on courtezans, etc. to be levied impartially according to the Maratha custom.

Article 10th: The regulations for the mint regarding rupees and pice to be under the adaulat.

Article 11th: Any complaints of the ryots in the Gaikwad mahals against the kamavisdar to be given to the kamavisdar to settle; and if through his means satisfaction shall not be given, the adaulat will take cognizance of it. The ryots of Gujarat are of that description of people that, should any of their complaints against the kamavisdar be too readily listened to, they will not obey his commands, and the collections will experience much detriment. This therefore must be taken always into consideration.

Article 12th: The house of Purbhudas, late Diwan of Manajirao Gaikwad, now in the possession of the sarkar, is well calculated in every respect for a court-house.

Article 13th: Estimate of expenses attending the institution of the adaulat :

300	pagis at 4 Rupees per month	..	Rs. 14,400-0-0
400	sepoys at 5 Rupees per month	..	„ 24,000-0-0
10	karkuns at 25 Rupees per month	..	„ 3,000-0-0
10	mehtas at 10 Rupees per month	..	„ 1,200-0-0
2	shastris at year	..	„ 1,600-0-0
1	Cazi ditto	..	„ 800-0-0
1	Banian ditto	..	„ 500-0-0
5	jamadars at 12 per month	..	„ 720-0-0
10	havalgars at 10 per month	..	„ 1,200-0-0
25	naiks at 8 per month	..	„ 2,400-0-0
The two judges yearly		..	„ 6,000-0-0
1	kunbi	..	„ 500-0-0
Grand Total, Rupees.			<u>56,320-0-0</u>

Scheme for raising funds for the purpose.

Article 14th: The nemnuk of the sibandi of the Fort of Baroda *Funds* amounts annually to Rs. 65,000, out of which number twenty-five thousand to be taken from those who are at present in the service of people of the town, and also the profits that may arise from the administering of justice. These two sums, being added together, are thought sufficient for the expenses. Should a balance remain in favour, the sarkar will receive it; or if more, the sarkar to furnish the sum requisite. The adaulat sepoys to have a distinguishing badge.

Previous to the institution of a court of adaulat all the castes of Gujarat to be numbered, the customs peculiar to each caste to be carefully noted down and to be deposited in the adaulat.

In the course of justice they will be of service, and at the time of administering justice they will not be able to conceal their customs, etc.

Article 15th: The punishment of petty offences to be awarded after due consideration, and the requisite observances of the manners and customs, by the opinion of all the judges, who are to afford no one countenance or to hearken to any recommendation, or in any way to commit injustice.

Article 16th: The complaints of the sibandi, pagadars and silahdars, respecting military duties or rights, are not to be brought before the court.

The khas Gaikwad and darakdars to pass decision on all these matters in the Gaikwad haveli, but nevertheless particular arrangement is necessary on these points that no injustice take place.

Article 17th: In this manner, in Petlad, Navsary, Kadi, and Patan there shall be instituted courts of adaulat; and should they

commit acts of injustice, the legitimate Gaikwad and darakdars to take cognizance of it. Sentences on murderers or other notorious offenders require the parwanah of the khas Gaikwad before execution.

Article 18th: From Songarh to Patan, where the Gaikwad extends, every ten kos, a karkun and horse and foot, or as many as shall be necessary, to be appointed, who are to protect the merchant and traveller, and not to suffer thieves to reside within their limits; and when robberies shall take place, to trace their footsteps wherever they may be. If this trouble shall be taken for four or five years, the merchants will travel in safety and all ranks benefit greatly.

Article 19th: To provide for the expenses of these five courts and those people stationed on the road, taxes shall be levied on all merchants' shops according to their wares and their ability, also customs on the exports and imports of merchants at a fixed rate.

If this shall take place, the sarkar will not incur much expense, and the people will derive security.

Article 20th: The establishing of this new adaulat will occasion much discontent and surprise among the people. Therefore it is requisite to draft detailed regulations and to take the opinion of all men of ability and experience thereon.

Bombay, 14th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 396)

At a Consultation.

Justice The endeavours of the Resident to establish a system for the administration of justice is entitled to every encouragement. The Governor-in-Council is however extremely apprehensive that, from the nature of the Government, the characters of the ruling authorities and of the subordinate officers of the State, it will be in vain to expect the introduction of a judicial system, founded on those pure and independent principles which distinguish the British Courts, and which can alone render it a general blessing to the country in any of the Native States of India, unless the courts could be superintended by the integrity of British judges. A court of justice, if under the control of the sovereign authority, which it is but too likely to be, will only prove under the Government of a despotic or of a weak Prince another source of oppression and of abuse, which under the cloak of a legally constituted tribunal might probably be practised with greater success than could well be attempted by the exclusive authority of the sovereign.

The regulations, suggested by the Resident, seem well adapted for the introduction of the judicial system in the Gaikwad territories, which should be effected in the gradual and discreet mode which the Resident has very judiciously suggested.

The character of His Highness Patesing and of the principal officers of the Administration, as described in the 37th and 46th paragraphs of Captain Carnac's report, afford every assurance that under their zealous and able management the solicitude, with which the

British Government has so disinterestedly prosecuted the arduous reforms of the ruinous abuses in the Gaikwad State, will be productive of permanent advantage to the interests of our ally.

The character, which the services of Gangadhar Shastri has established, and the testimonies, which have been borne to his merits, have impressed the present Government with a full sense of his talents and integrity and of his attachment to the British interests. The Governor-in-Council concurs in opinion with the Resident on the policy of acquiescing with the application of Fatesing that the Shastri might be permitted to hold an ostensible situation in his Government; and is pleased to authorise Captain Carnac to communicate in suitable terms to Fatesing the satisfaction we feel in complying with his wishes on this occasion.

Baroda, 27th June, 1816 (1816, P. D. 430)

1816

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch in the Political Department, dated the 30th November last, forwarding an extract of a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors. The importance of the subject, affecting the new system for the administration of justice at Baroda, has induced me to depart from my original intention of offering my sentiments in explanation, conjointly with the other distinct heads of reference from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. I propose in this address to submit the reasons in detail for suggesting to the Gaikwad Government a system of public justice, varying from the plan offered by Colonel Walker and, in the sequel, remarking on the efficacy of the institution now established. *General summary*

2. When the Marathas were firmly established in their conquest of Gujarat, urged by their own interest, they gave their attention to the restoration of order and tranquillity. But their government was formed on no determined system. The subject had recourse to personal revenge, and a practice so baneful to society was checked by no institution where redress of grievances could be obtained. Colonel Walker bears evidence to the state of anarchy and confusion, resulting from such circumstances, the reform of which, he very justly observes, has become more manifest within the period that the Hon'ble Company have interfered in the concerns, and acquired interests in Gujarat.

3. The cause of this favourable change ought perhaps to be attributed to the personal influence of my predecessor. It induced the members of the Administration to devote more than usual attention to the discharge of justice, criminal and civil, as a means which, their daily intercourse with that officer soon enabled them to perceive, was above every other consideration calculated to secure his favourable opinion. Still however the attention of the Government was not turned to the establishment of a regular system for this object; and however efficacious the practice of encouraging panchayats might, as a temporary resort, prove, under the influence and vigilance of an officer so entirely respected as Colonel Walker, I still conceived it

impossible to adopt it as the only mode calculated for obtaining redress.

4. I may observe generally, in respect to the practice of arbitration, that, as a system of justice, it can only operate universally in societies, where the occupations, the rights and the habits of the people, are alike simple, limited and regular. Such a society hardly exists in this country, where the employments of the people are diversified, where the habits are industrious and licentious, and where rights are not entirely determined by a written law, but by the innumerable intricacies of local usage.

5. In such a state of society establishments with positive powers seemed necessary, both to give effectual redress for injuries, as well as to collate the various usages, and by a record of decisions, whether of its own tribunal or of arbitrators, to establish a body of precedents, so essential to the due and regular administration of a law depending on a variety of local customs.

6. Much of the excellence, too, of the system of panchayat, in the opinion of the people, arises from their being allowed to resort to it or otherwise, as they think proper. Cases may occur in which individuals would find it difficult to select assessors, who could be supposed entirely disinterested, if not immediately, at least, remotely in the decision of their cause. Such cases will readily suggest themselves; and considering that panchayats, though apparently resembling juries, are in reality very differently constituted, it will not be doubted that the establishment of a tribunal for the decision of such cases was indispensibly requisite.

7. To give effect however to the wishes of the people in respect to panchayats, and to secure to them as much as possible all the benefits which Colonel Walker has so justly ascribed to them, the institution of a tribunal was promotive of the object, under whose sanction they might arbitrate, receive and record their awards, and enforce their provisions.

8. The utility of such an establishment for this purpose will be more apparent, when it is stated that arbitration is scarcely ever resorted to in this country, as in England, in consequence of a mutual concurrence of parties in a suit without the intervention of Government.

9. Under such circumstances justice to the interests of the people required that, even to give speedy redress through the means of panchayats, authorities should be constituted to form these boards, to register and enforce their awards; that this should not be left to the leisure or convenience of any officers, the nature of whose other employments might, however strictly enjoined to the contrary, lead them to consider the duty as of secondary importance.

10. I have already observed that the resemblance does not in all respects hold good between juries and panchayats, and the statement of the points in which they differ will show the propriety of the establishment of a regular court.

11. In England juries sit under the awful responsibility of an oath, they hear evidence, sifted by able counsellors; this afterwards summed up, and the law expounded by an able judge. They give their award before the public, who know the whole of the evidence, on which the juries find the verdict; a jury would be branded with infamy, if it departed from its oath and gave a verdict contrary to evidence.

12. In general the case with a panchayat is very different. In the first place a respectable Hindu would deem himself degraded if desired to swear, and a Native Government would not tender to him an oath. In the second, panchayats sit separate, hear, and reject evidence at their own option, and no one but themselves are competent to judge of the grounds on which they have given their award. The consequence is that discontent prevails with their decision to such an extent as sometimes to warrant a mistrust of the purity of their proceedings, and to suggest the necessity of a tribunal whose duty should be directed to the inquiry into charges of corruption, instead of leaving it, as was otherwise the case, to chance, to the option of a Diwan or of a revenue manager, unwilling to arraign the proceedings of a body of people, to whom he might be under personal obligations, or at all events averse by such a measure to attach a stigma on the character of men of consequence in society.

13. A close attention to the system of panchayats forced these considerations on my notice; and as much to preserve the advantages of that system, as to place at the will of the people a regular constituted tribunal, I was led to propose the establishment of the present court of justice.

14. In doing so, I conceive also that I was following, though with trifling modifications, the suggestions of Colonel Walker, who contemplated by the increase which he proposed to the Kotwal's Court the necessity of some further establishment for the dispensation of justice.

15. A reference to the regulations, under which the court was established, will show that, with the exception of consolidating with the Kotwal's Court, the new tribunal was formed in the spirit of the recommendations of Colonel Walker. Why it was not embodied with the Kotwal's Court arose more from the nature of the duties of that officer, than from many other considerations. His jurisdiction is purely magisterial, and as a Police Officer he has as much to attend to as it seems proper to confide to his management, without burthening him with civil duties. Besides, in the instances in question, I considered that by departing from the letter of Colonel Walker's propositions, so far as to place a member of the Gaikwad family at the head of the court, independent of the dignity that would thereby be conferred on the institution, I should create an interest in the administration for the success of the establishment.

16. The rank of the president in the State, promised an influence and weight in the court, calculated to remove all objections on the part of men of rank to submit to its decisions under the pretence that

they would be degraded or dishonoured, a circumstance which might have attended the establishment of the court entirely under the Kotwal, to whose jurisdiction, as embracing a superintendence over the most licentious part of society only, the more respectable members of the community would have objected.

17. In regard to the magisterial and criminal departments of justice several considerations influenced me in entrusting it and the civil department to the same court. First, it was an object of the greatest importance to effect the requisite reform in the Administration on the most economical principles, and the most simple method of attaining this point seemed to be the consolidation of the administration of justice in the same hands. Secondly, this proceeding added importance to the new establishment, which occupying in consequence a large sphere of action, a proportionate necessity became imposed on the members of the court to act with purity in the discharge of their functions. Thirdly, a consideration, of greater importance than these I have stated, appeared to be the necessity of withdrawing the administration of criminal justice from the Sovereign or his Minister, who had heretofore generally exercised that power in all cases of consequence.

18. The variety of the duties of the Sovereign or his Diwan, temporary indisposition, frequent absence from the capital, it will be apparent, must have often tended to interfere with the regular discharge of criminal justice. But above all, the dignity of the Prince, as well as a humane and merciful execution of justice, required that neither the Sovereign himself nor his principal advisers should personally adjudge and condemn any criminal. A variety of circumstances, which it would not be safe always to leave to the judge, who should be guided rather by the letter than the spirit of the law, seems to render the power of an act of grace at the hands of the Sovereign indispensable to humanity.

19. I was not warranted by anything that had actually occurred to entertain suspicions that the administration of criminal justice in the hands of the present Sovereign or his Ministers would be converted into a tool, with which to oppress political adversaries, or to satiate private revenge. But a system of justice should, as much as possible, be independent of the personal qualities of the Sovereign, whom we cannot always expect to be guided by moderate and equitable principles. A knowledge of the frailties of human nature will doubtless suggest that prudence and humanity required, when the amelioration of the administration of justice was in progress, that every temptation should be removed from those who, if inclined to indulge the passions which opportunity tends so greatly to encourage, could not from their exalted situation and their power be easily restrained either by good advice or any fear of the consequences.

20. When I had made up my mind to relieve the Prince and his Minister of a duty incompatible with their station and their other avocations, and of an ungracious nature, no mode of providing for its discharge seemed calculated to give more general satisfaction than

confiding it to a court, proposed to be constituted on so respectable a footing.

21. The duties of kotwal have always been confined to the apprehension of criminals, and the punishment of petty offences. In cases of great enormities, which involved the life of the criminal, he had no voice, nor would it have been considered by the people at large, as evincing a just conviction on the part of Government, of the importance of the subject, to have transferred such weighty investigations from the hands of the first members of the State to a tribunal of this inferior consideration.

22. The powers of the kotwal were therefore confined to their usual limits of superintending the town police, and by the new regulations they were rendered in the discharge of this trust subordinate to the court of justice. In adhering in this instance also to the *established practice of the country, the object of separating the office of the magistrate from that of the criminal judge, which operates so beneficially in Europe and in the Hon'ble Company's courts in this country*, was obtained, and the advantages of this division and gradation of authority have been illustrated.

23. In my report of the 11th October, 1812, paragraph 32, testimony was borne to the good effect which at so early a stage of the new establishment had been derived in respect to the decrease of crimes within the capital. Such a circumstance tends further to prove the utility of the mode in which the judicial reforms were suggested.

24. It may be useful in this place to recapitulate the objects I had in view in the establishment of a regular court of justice. My first endeavour in the reform proposed was to provide a certain resource, to which the injured and oppressed might repair; and I believed that object was only obtainable by the establishment of a tribunal for the express purpose of deciding or, if the party wished it, of empowering panchayats to decide promptly on every complaint.

25. My second object was to secure a regular tribunal for the trial of criminals of every description, instead of leaving this duty to the pleasure and convenience or the caprice of a Prince or his Minister; and thirdly, I was desirous to relieve the Sovereign of the task of personally presiding in a criminal court and passing sentence, limiting his interference in such proceedings to a revision of the trials and to the dispensation of mercy in such cases as justified clemency.

26. However much the mode to attain these objects may appear at variance with Colonel Walker's recommendations, they are in reality much in conformity. Colonel Walker's plan proposes an increase of the establishment for the administration of justice; and the only difference consists in the mode by which that extension has been carried into practice. An attention is carefully prescribed to the new court to all the customs of the natives. Indeed, a regard to them forms the basis of its constitution; and while its establishment in no manner interferes with any institution, such as those of the kotwal,

actually in existence, to which the natives may wish to appeal, it exacts from those tribunals in all cases a strict discharge of their respective duties.

27. On this part of the subject I will only add that in giving effect to reforms involving so many considerations as the present, it is not always possible to adhere literally to the plan which we may at first prescribe as a guide. Many circumstances not before contemplated obtrude themselves on notice, when we attempt to reduce such plans to practice.

28. I shall only further remark that the institution of the courts of justice is not at all foreign to the practice of the best times of the province. They certainly existed under the Hindu Government and during the rule of the Moguls. An *adaulat* at Ahmadabad with the *kotwal's* office of police is ample evidence that the institutions, which I proposed, are by no means novel. If we find there that motives of State or of corruption interfered to screen various classes from responsibility, that the rich, the powerful or the refractory placed no restraint on their conduct, if *panchayats*, when they sat, could not ensure the execution of their decrees, and if recourse to aggression was in many instances considered the only certain means of gaining redress, the necessity of reverting to a system, which the experience of former Governments had found useful, will, I trust, be acknowledged.

29. It now only remains with me to speak of the efficacy of the existing tribunal. On this part of the subject I am unable to render an account which might gratify the expectations of Government. An opposition to the institution was at first occasioned by that feeling of aversion, generally attendant on reform. But this spirit subsided considerably, when the reputation of the justice of the tribunal in some civil suits became demonstrated. It has been observed that, in all situations of labour and trust, the salaries should be such as to place those who fill them above temptation. The truth of this remark was exemplified in the new establishment. The subsequent corruption of that tribunal, which by the justice of its just decision had influenced many complainants to submit their causes to its determination, operated strongly to deter others from coming forward. At the same time after the reform was familiarised, the wish of the country for its continuance was fully seen, when those who had been proved open to corruption, were dismissed, and integrity again to be expected from new and more honourable members.

30. But the cause which had induced corruption in the first members still existed; and it is to be feared that, unless the salaries are increased to a liberal amount, we can only hope for partial success. Notwithstanding these weighty disadvantages, I can with confidence assure the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that many wrongs have been redressed, which would never have been noticed; and that, as far as I can learn, the commission of crimes of atrocity has continued to diminish.

31. It does not follow, from the examples afforded of corruption in the existing tribunal, that, in a general sense, natives are not

qualified by morals or good principles to the important discharge of justice. Under the influence of proper regulations, and the superintendence of a vigilant Government, perhaps the employment of men of respectability in offices of trust and honour would for many reasons be more acceptable to the community in this country and essentially conduce to the public interests of Government. The exclusion of individuals of family from employments, which give respectability and corresponding advantage, may contribute materially to the relaxation of principle, which natives of India have frequently betrayed. It is at least as fair to attribute to this proscription the defective moral character of the people. The utility of natives in every department of our administration is strikingly demonstrated by their employment in situations yielding, it is true, moderate pecuniary returns, but commanding a considerable latitude of power. Their intimate acquaintance with their own laws and usages, similarity of habits, and identity of religion and, in many cases, liberality of education give them advantages which properly cherished and directed would produce most important benefits. This is confined to the immediate results by their liberal encouragement to enter the public service; and if we contemplate the subject in a more enlarged view, the policy of rendering the natives of a country subservient to its prosperity can hardly be questioned. As I have however remarked the impulse to a faithful and beneficial discharge of public duties, as a general maxim, consists in the degree of remuneration intended for such services or whatever the qualifications of the people may be; it surpasses the best opinion of human nature to look for uniform integrity.

32. It will be evident that it could not be attended with effect to introduce courts, similar to that established at the capital, in the chief parganas; while the perfection of the one, by which they were to be modelled, could not be accomplished, though possessed of the advantage of the immediate observation of the Government.

33. It was out of my power to obtain a member of the Gaikwad family to superintend the proceedings of the new institution. The want of ability, which prevails among the relatives of the Raja, limited selection to a very small number, while the indolence of those who were otherwise eligible, has hitherto rendered it impossible to carry this part of the plan into effect.

34. The activity, which the court inspired into the kotwal, rendered the exertions of the policy so effective that the frequency of robbery in the town was much diminished and I am happy to state that in this respect the utility of the court is strikingly evident.

35. In compliance with the wish of Government I have the honour to enclose a statement of the number of the civil suits decided by the tribunal since its establishment. There exists only an indifferent record of the criminal awards which have been passed.

36. The judge decided capital cases to be punishable (according to the law of the Shashtra) by death, mutilation of the body, perpetual imprisonment, or heavy fines; and that these punishments might be remitted or partially enforced at the pleasure of the Sovereign. When

so great a scope was given for the exercise of clemency, a merciful Sovereign would hesitate in passing his opinion; and to this cause the suspension of all capital punishments by His Highness Fatesing is to be assigned. When law required his mandate for the execution of a criminal, a reference was always made to me; and however conscious I may have felt of the necessity of examples occasionally, the difficulty and delicacy, attendant on interference with the awful prerogative of the Sovereign, has led me to pause in gratifying his Highness by a declaration of my opinion. It is an amicable feature in the character of the present Prince that he inclines to the side of mercy. It was prudent perhaps at these early years, rather to permit a temporary suspension of the sentence of the law from motives of humanity, than to inculcate a severe dispensation of his powers. At the same time society has been relieved from the outrages of these criminals who are still in rigid confinement, and among whom, I have reason to think, His Highness purposes to select those for punishment, guilty of the greatest crimes. The cruelty of mutilating limbs, as an expiation for offences, has always been strongly urged on the attention of Fatesing; and I have the happiness to say that the effect of these suggestions is proved by the discontinuance of that horrible practice.

Hopes 37. In concluding this dispatch I beg to offer my assurance to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that it will continue to be an object of my particular attention to avail myself of every opportunity which can promote the advancement of the present system for the administration of justice, careful to avoid any bold innovation on long usages, and cautiously adapting circumstances to the prejudices, temper and privileges of those immediately interested. I cherish rather a sanguine hope that in the progress of time it may be in my power to introduce an establishment conducive to the full attainment of an object fundamentally important to the prosperity of a Government and the happiness and security of its subjects.

Translation of statement of the suits presented, decided upon, etc. from the month of Margasirsha to the month of Jeyeshth being a period of eight months in the year 1870 Samvat by the Nyaidaish court of justice at Baroda.

Work done	Number of suits brought before the court.	Commission and fees realised.	Decided by the Court.	Settled by the parties.	Remainder unsettled.
	1,118	Rs. 13,342-2-55	305	440	173

Translation of a statement of the number of suits presented, decided upon, etc. by the Nyaidaish court of justice at Baroda during the year 1871, Samvat.

Work done	Number of suits brought before the court.	Commission and fees realised.	Decided by the Court.	Settled by the parties.	Remainder unsettled.
	1,684	Rs. 11,920-3-62	633	986	438
<i>During the year 1872, Samvat.</i>					
	330	Rs. 2,100-1-41	176	210	352

Abstract.

1870	1118 Rs. 13,342-2-55	305	440	173
1871	1684 „ 11,920-3-62	633	986	438
1872	330 „ 2,100-1-41	176	240	352
	3132 Rs. 27,363-3-58	1,114	1,666	963

Bombay minutes, 18th July.

In replying to Captain Carnac's letter the Chief Secretary is to express the Governor-in-Councils approbation of his proceedings in the introduction of the important and useful establishment constituted at Baroda for the dispensation of justice; and in reference to the 30th paragraph, to remark that, if experience should have led him to think a more liberal compensation ought to be made to the officers to whom this trust has been confided, it is desirable that he should endeavour to prevail on the Gaikwad Government to make a more ample provision for compensating their services, and leaving them less open to corruption than they might otherwise be from an insufficient provision being attached to their situations.

SAYAJIRAO GAIKWAD

(First Years)

THE documents deal with the first two years of Sayajirao's rule (1819-1820). During this short space of time, a number of important events took place, which are chronicled here under the following headings.

- No. 1. Sayaji's accession to power
- No. 2. Family dissensions
- No. 3. Dhakji Dadaji
- No. 4. Sidelights on Kathiawar
- No. 5. Financial puzzle
- No. 6. Elphinstone's settlement

No. 1. SAYAJI'S ACCESSION TO POWER.

Two attempts were made to supersede Sayaji and to set aside his hereditary right. First of all, when Fatesingrao died, Sayajirao's appointment as mutalik was opposed by people influential in the Baroda Administration, who supported the claims of Govindrao, Radhabai's adopted son, not yet in his teens. Govindrao's accession to power would mean a long minority-reign and a unique occasion for fishing in troubled waters. Again, when Anandrao Gaikwad died, another attempt was made to deprive Sayaji of his hereditary right. In this instance, too, the plotters were swayed by motives equally selfish as on the first occasion. The Bombay Government upheld Sayaji's rights.

A. Sayajirao Mutalik. B. Sayajirao Gaikwad Ruler.

DOCUMENTS

A. SAYAJIRAO MUTALIK

Baroda, 24th June, 1818 (1818, P. D. 451)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

It is with feelings of deep regret that I announce to the Right *Fatesing* Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the death of His Highness Fatesingrao *dead* Gaikwad at sunset yesterday after an illness of five days.

Minute guns to the number of 26 (the age of His late Highness) will be fired this day at the Residency and cantonments, and every

the utmost anxiety depicted on the countenance of these all round for my answer, and it was of the first importance that it should be clear and explicit to all parties.

6. I began accordingly by repeating what I had said as to the proposed adoption of a son to the widow, and my promise of every kindness which personally depended on me. At the same time I remarked that my own private opinion did not accord with the necessity of any adoption, under my conviction that the Gaikwad Government would not be regardless of every suitable attention to the family of His Highness, but as a measure to gratify the widow and preserve her from the meditated sacrifice of her life, and in consonance to the wishes of the family. It was neither my personal inclination nor incumbent on me as the Resident at the Gaikwad's Darbar to offer any obstruction. The case however, I continued to say in the most audible manner, assumed a very different character, if the family (as I should be led to believe from the communication made to me) expected to draw me into any acknowledgement whatever that the boy, who might be adopted by the widow, succeeded by that act to the rights or pretensions, derived from his birth, of the late Fatesing. I wished therefore (addressing myself to the family collectively) that one and all of them should clearly comprehend that I could recognise the adoption purely as a domestic arrangement for the satisfaction of the widow and Fatesing's immediate family, and that the measure was acknowledged by me on behalf of the British Government as in no shape interfering with the rights of those of the Gaikwad, who had approximated the throne of His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad by the event of the death of his presumptive heir, Fatesing. I took occasion to declare these sentiments two or three times by addressing myself to those seated in different parts of the room.

7. An attempt was made to discuss the question with me, which I was resolved not to admit, and with a view of avoiding it I rose abruptly and removed into another apartment. Some time had passed before I saw any of the members of the family, or the Khanji Diwan, or Vithoba Bhau, who was active in supporting the ridiculous pretensions of the child proposed to be adopted. The corpse during this time had undergone none of the rites usual before interment, and I was still doubtful of the intentions of the widow and of the soldiers in the mansion and its vicinity. At this period a party of 300 sepoys arrived in town, which I had ordered from the cantonments, on seeing that Fatesing was rapidly dying, with a view of attending the funeral procession and suppressing disturbances, in case, as on former occasions when persons of distinguished rank in the State died, any should be attempted by the disorderly or disaffected. Previous to this, three of the gates in the fort had been closed; and I had posted from the palace guard a small party of Fatesing's horse under the charge of Lieutenant Inglis, commanding my escort.

8. When the relations of the family returned to me from the widow, there was an alteration in their deportment. They exacted further assurances of my personal friendship to Radhabai Gaikwad to be a test of my having been the friend of her husband, and

of the Raja, have not been diminished by the increased years of His Highness or by his habits of ease and indolence, arising from the transaction of business, through his brother. His welfare and the efficiency of his Government call for the remedy, which was found in the person of the presumptive heir to His Highness. The character of the present servants of the Government, which involves the objects of the alliance, applies with additional weight in favour of the measure; and our responsibilities, incident to the reforms, which, though greatly advanced, have lately been retreated by causes which were uncontrollable, added to the inexperience of any of the Gaikwad family, seem to demand at this crisis the particular guardianship and protection of the British Government.

12. Under these impressions it is my intention to regulate my conduct for the management of public affairs on the principles which governed our policy on the introduction of Fatesing, and shall accordingly suggest to His Highness the Raja that he delegates the power, exercised by the late Fatesing, to Sayajirao Gaikwad, the next in regular succession to this Government.

14. It may be necessary here to explain that Sayajirao Gaikwad is the legitimate son of the late Raja Govindrao by his third wife named Gayabai. He is now in the 19th year of his age, and has also a son legally born.

15. It is not possible for me to say how far the Raja [Anandrao] may feel disposed to concur in my proposition for the nomination of his presumptive heir. The present state of His Highness's health requires the measure to be urged to every becoming length, though I am sensible that, exclusive of the Minister at the palace to carry his object in favour of the infant adopted by Fatesing's widow, Takhtabai Gaikwad has been exhorting him [Anandrao] to appoint his own son by her, a youth of 15 years of age.

16. Difficulties may be reasonably expected in setting this intention aside, as the Raja will naturally have a bias to his own child, added to the circumstance of Takhtabai having been married to His Highness, though conformable to the rules of succession in Maratha Governments her children, in consequence of the mother being a Rajput, are not qualified to fill the gadi. The age of the Raja and his present reduced state are strong arguments against Takhtabai's views in favour of her son to the exclusion of the heir presumptive.

Bombay, 6th July, 1818 (1818, P. D. 451)

1818

The Governor to Anandrao Gaikwad.

I have received with feelings of unfeigned regret the intelligence, *Condoling* communicated to me by Captain Carnac, of the severe domestic calamity, with which it has pleased the Almighty to affect Your Highness and your mourning family by depriving you of the common happiness of a relation, whose virtues in all the relations of private life had endeared him to all ranks of society, and whose public conduct had been invariably distinguished by an unwearied and faithful administration of those interests which you had been pleased to commit to his management.

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I have received with feelings of unfeigned regret the intelligence, *Condoling*, communicated to me by Captain Carnac, of the severe domestic calamity, with which it has pleased the Almighty to affect Your Highness and your mourning family by depriving you of the common happiness of a relation, whose virtues in all the relations of private life had endeared him to all ranks of society, and whose public conduct had been invariably distinguished by an unwearied and faithful administration of those interests which you had been pleased to commit to his management.

Government for a series of years, commencing from the reign of Govindrao, have enjoyed a share of power exceeding the strict measure of their rights. The indolence of one sovereign, the constitutional defects of his successor, and the mild indulgent nature of Fatesing had all contributed to the exaltation of the civil officers beyond that standard which, as a general principle, it could be desirable to allow. The character of Sayajirao appeared calculated in time to overthrow this undue possession of power, which by long prescription had almost amounted in their eyes to a right; and thence I conclude the strong feelings against his advancement have been engendered.

3. I lost no time in endeavouring to counteract the intrigues going forward on the part of the Minister with the Raja, in which no great difficulty was experienced, as the desire, which Takhtabai Gaikwad, the Raja's favourite wife, had manifested for the appointment of her son, led her strenuously to oppose the object of the darakdars in behalf of the adopted child. I was soon left with only one opponent in Takhtabai, who was rather formidable from the influence she possessed over the Raja, added to the natural claims (which could be urged upon His Highness in favour of his own son). In the meanwhile Sayaji Gaikwad had sent to me to ascertain whether the British Government felt disposed to take his case into any consideration, a reference produced from an industrious attempt to induce him to believe that he would meet with no advocate in that quarter. I suggested to Sayaji the propriety of his standing aloof, with every confidence in the justice of my Government, which on this occasion would feel itself bound to consult the wishes of His Highness the Raja, with whom the nomination must eventually rest. By this advice Sayajirao continued to abide without deviation, and afforded to me the first proof of his good sense.

4. The Raja visited me three successive times at the Residency, and my communications with the palace were kept up without intermission. In the first two interviews he treated the nomination of the adopted boy with aversion and ridicule, and declared his intention of appointing the eldest son [Takhtabai's]. I was not able to divert him from this resolution, formed at the instigation of Takhtabai, and the only plan was to communicate with the lady herself on the subject. I did so on two different occasions, confining myself to a declaration to her of the incompetency of her son for the office in question and the impossibility of my Government recognising any such measure. I pointed out to her the general disapprobation it would excite as a proceeding quite novel in its nature and subversive of the acknowledged rights of others. This I had good grounds for doing from the facts of the Minister, in his own name and in behalf of the Gaikwad officers, having implored me, from the honour to the Gaikwad Government and family, to discourage by every means in my power the appointment of a person, whose defective birth constituted according to their practice and usages an insurmountable bar to his advancement to the office of mutalik by any regular mode of proceeding.

5. It could not be expected that Takhtabai would either admit the justness of my reasoning, or that she would be pleased with the unreserved manner in which it had been offered.

It is the disposition of Sayaji to digest and comprehend the affairs which are brought before him (and nothing is authentic without his written sanction), and his good fortune is in being remarkably well grounded in the elementary parts of a Maratha education, that promises fairly for the future prosperity of the Gaikwad State. It is evident hitherto that the young Prince feels that he is acting for his own interests by the laudable regard he pays to the concerns which now fall under his cognizance. But he will have many serious temptations to combat, arising out of the bias to corruption and venality, which pervades the principal servants of the State. Before these hopes can arrive at maturity, the guardianship and protection to this State, which I recommended in my letter of the 30th June, is more wanting for the conservation of the untainted principles of Sayaji Gaikwad and his general instruction, than for any objects of financial regularity in the Government. On the care, which is taken to expand his good qualities and to check whatever may be objectionable, will probably depend the prosperity of the Gaikwad State and its value as an ally to the Company, since Sayaji is now the only member of the Gaikwad family who has arrived or can so for a number of years at an age to undertake in his own person the government of the country.

11. The temper and disposition of Sayajirao appear to me to differ in many essentials from that of his late brother. He has accustomed himself much to the control of his mother Gayabai, a lady reputed to have a violent nature. She has however done every justice in his education, which has been more attended to than that of any other member, within my knowledge, of the Gaikwad family. He appears a little imperious, fond of parade and ostentation; and as his person is comely, his gait and dress partake of the qualities of his disposition. It is these indications of what his character may hereafter be that have procured him the aversion of the servants of the Government; and in the existing state of things it is rather fortunate than otherwise that the anticipations of Sayajirao's administration are not to the taste of the Minister and his party. It will constitute an object of my particular attention to confine the operations of Sayaji's disposition to wholesome limits, admitting it to have that fair latitude of action, by which he will administer to the substantial good of the State, without degenerating into tyranny or oppressive conduct. He should be allowed to feel that he has the most prominent interest in the Government, and that he is vested with powers to control and superintend those who are bound faithfully to serve it.

12. The general opposition, which Sayaji Gaikwad has seen displayed by the servants of his family to his advancement, and the support and assistance he has received from the British Government, on principles which are calculated to fix his respect and confidence, must found, if properly directed, the groundwork upon which a permanent superstructure of his personal attachment may be raised.

Bombay, 28th September, 1818 (1818 P. D. 454).

Governor-in-Council to Anandrao Gaikwad.

I have been favoured with your Highness's letter of the 14th *Ad* Ramzan, advising of the judicious measure adopted by your Highness

*Sayaji
appointed*

6. It had however every effect I could have desired. The conviction that her views could never succeed, unsupported by the Company, but that a perseverance in prosecuting them might be followed by future inconvenience to her, occasioned her sullenly to withdraw from all interest in the scheme, which permitted the Raja to consider my proposals to him with more freedom. The third interview at the Residency procured His Highness's determination to appoint Sayaji Gaikwad. It was moreover declared with an appearance of satisfaction, which I have seldom seen His Highness display on any occasion. I was accordingly summoned with Sayaji Gaikwad and the darakdars by the Raja to his palace on the morning of the 19th ultimo, and attended with the gentlemen of my family. On reaching the palace I found that Takhtabai made an endeavour to deter the Raja from nominating any other but her son. By her importunities His Highness had held the meeting at her house, situated on the outside of the large enclosure to his own, where he continued but a short time, suddenly retiring with his personal attendants only to the interior of the palace. Some minutes had elapsed when Sayaji, myself and the gentlemen with the darakdars were invited to the presence of the Raja, where I found he had prepared the cloths of investiture. His Highness called Sayaji to him, and having invested him with the office, held by his late brother, Fatesing, he rose and advancing with Sayaji towards me he placed his hands in mine, directing him to attend to my advice and requesting me to afford it at all times in the same manner as I had always done.

8. I should apologise to the Hon'ble Board for dwelling so much on these particular forms, but it has appeared to me useful to relate them, as there exists a strong party, covertly encouraged by the Minister, and composed of Takhtabai, the widows and mother of His late Highness Fatesing and the senior wife of the late Raja Govindrao, named Gahenabai, to distort and misrepresent facts in the vain hope of injuring Sayaji Gaikwad. It is not surprising that the combination against His Highness should have had some influence upon him. I have not been backward, on observing the effects of the conduct of his adversaries, in giving Sayaji every suitable assurance of encouraging him to proceed in the execution of the important office, to which he stands appointed, with a full confidence in the support of the Company's Government to any extent in which he may act to the interests of the Gaikwad Government and in conformity to its obligations.

*Judging
Sayaji*

10. The limited time I have had of forming a judgment of Sayajirao Gaikwad, will of course be taken into consideration on the observations which I submit on the subject. His Highness has displayed much good sense during the whole series of intrigues at Baroda for his exclusion from his right to prominent participation in the affairs of Government, to which he has become the presumptive heir. His attention to public business after his appointment has been regular, and his habit of early rising enables him to go through a great deal of drudgery before the hour when it is usual among the Hindus to take their first meal. He has also testified a desire to examine and fully to understand every paper before it is authenticated by his signature. The intricacy of our accounts has been no impediment to his inquiries, which have been repeated until his mind became thoroughly satisfied.

It is the disposition of Sayaji to digest and comprehend the affairs which are brought before him (and nothing is authentic without his written sanction), and his good fortune is in being remarkably well grounded in the elementary parts of a Maratha education, that promises fairly for the future prosperity of the Gaikwad State. It is evident hitherto that the young Prince feels that he is acting for his own interests by the laudable regard he pays to the concerns which now fall under his cognizance. But he will have many serious temptations to combat, arising out of the bias to corruption and venality, which pervades the principal servants of the State. Before these hopes can arrive at maturity, the guardianship and protection to this State, which I recommended in my letter of the 30th June, is more wanting for the conservation of the untainted principles of Sayaji Gaikwad and his general instruction, than for any objects of financial regularity in the Government. On the care, which is taken to expand his good qualities and to check whatever may be objectionable, will probably depend the prosperity of the Gaikwad State and its value as an ally to the Company, since Sayaji is now the only member of the Gaikwad family who has arrived or can so for a number of years at an age to undertake in his own person the government of the country.

11. The temper and disposition of Sayajirao appear to me to differ in many essentials from that of his late brother. He has accustomed himself much to the control of his mother Gayabai, a lady reputed to have a violent nature. She has however done every justice in his education, which has been more attended to than that of any other member, within my knowledge, of the Gaikwad family. He appears a little imperious, fond of parade and ostentation; and as his person is comely, his gait and dress partake of the qualities of his disposition. It is these indications of what his character may hereafter be that have procured him the aversion of the servants of the Government; and in the existing state of things it is rather fortunate than otherwise that the anticipations of Sayajirao's administration are not to the taste of the Minister and his party. It will constitute an object of my particular attention to confine the operations of Sayaji's disposition to wholesome limits, admitting it to have that fair latitude of action, by which he will administer to the substantial good of the State, without degenerating into tyranny or oppressive conduct. He should be allowed to feel that he has the most prominent interest in the Government, and that he is vested with powers to control and superintend those who are bound faithfully to serve it.

12. The general opposition, which Sayaji Gaikwad has seen displayed by the servants of his family to his advancement, and the support and assistance he has received from the British Government, on principles which are calculated to fix his respect and confidence, must found, if properly directed, the groundwork upon which a permanent superstructure of his personal attachment may be raised.

Bombay, 28th September, 1818 (1818 P. D. 454).

1818

Governor-in-Council to Anandrao Gaikwad.

I have been favoured with your Highness's letter of the 14th *Approva*
Ramzan, advising of the judicious measure adopted by your Highness

of calling upon your relative, Sayajirao Gaikwad, to take part in the administration of affairs at Baroda; and I beg to assure Your Highness that this arrangement has the entire concurrence and approbation of the British Government, satisfied as we are that it will contribute materially to the advantage of the Gaikwad State.

Letter from Right Hon'ble the Governor to Sayajirao Gaikwad, dated 28th September, 1818.

I have learnt with satisfaction by the letter from your Senior, His Highness the Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, and by your own accompanying and acceptable communication that His Highness has been pleased to raise you to a very responsible situation in the administration of his country, on which, as a measure promoted by the Company's Government for the good of the Gaikwad State, I offer you with entire cordiality my congratulations, in the confidence that you will sedulously apply your unremitting attention to make a worthy return to your respected Senior, the Maharaja, and his firm ally the Hon'ble Company for the signal favour and distinction thus conferred on you, by acting in all respects with honour and fidelity in the discharge of the trust committed to you, directing your attention to the regulation and improvement of the country and to the happiness and comforts of its inhabitants, in the attainment of which objects you will be assisted and supported, as you desire, by the advice of the very respectable Captain Carnac as well as the general support of the British Government.

1818 *Fort William, 17th October, 1818 (1818 P. D. 456)*

J. Adam to Francis Warden.

Pleased The Governor General-in-Council has experienced very high satisfaction in learning that Sayajirao has been nominated by the Maharaja to succeed his deceased brother, Fatesing, in the administration of the affairs of the Gaikwad State. The justice and expediency of this arrangement are undeniably sustained both by the fair personal claims of Sayajirao, as being the heir presumptive to the Gaikwad masnad (the Maharaja's son by Takhtabai being according to the usage of the country barred from the succession by his defective birth) and by the obvious advantage which must result both to the State of Baroda and to the interest of the alliance with our Government from the administration being confided to effective hands, and placed above the influence of the corruption, intrigue, and venality, which would unquestionably have pervaded every branch of the Government. Had either the son of Takhtabai or the adopted son of Fatesing been elevated to the nominal exercise of the chief power.

1819 *Baroda, 6th February, 1819 (1819, P. D. 472)*

F. D. Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

Umia accused Some time subsequent to the promulgation of the atrocious murder of a menial servant of the Raja's household, belonging to Takhtabai, said to have been perpetrated by Balvantrao Bhau, her own son, I was much concerned to find from the Bhau's voluntary statement, on a visit he chose to pay me, that he had been instigated

to the commission of the act by a person of the name of Umia Shankar acting in the capacity of a servant or gumastha to the agent to the Darbar [*Dhakji Dadaji*].¹

Baroda, 16th February, 1819 (1819 P. D. 464)

1819

James Williams to James R. Carnac.

I waited upon His Highness Sayajirao with the depositions given *Umia's trial* to Captain Ballantine by Balvantrao Bhau and the two bargirs, Sardar Khan and Usud Khan, stating themselves to have been concerned in a murder committed on the person of a chela of the Raja's, and accusing a man of the name of Umia Shankar, who was employed under the Native Agent of the Darbar in the potdari [*Dhakji Dadaji*], of having instigated them to the commission of this act. His Highness desired that the depositions of Balvantrao and the bargirs might be read to him, which was accordingly done. On that part of the statement being read, which describes Umia Shankar as giving cowls to the bargirs, His Highness observed that this could not be true, and turning to me said: "The day that Balvantrao killed Mahadev, he came to my house. I had just returned from inspecting some horse going to Malwa in company with Ganpatrao Bapu. When I saw Balvantrao with his clothes stained with blood, I ordered him clothes to put on (mentioning what they consisted of), and the day after a coat and pair of shawls. I gave him these to restore him to some kind of confidence, seeing the state he was in. I considered it incumbent upon me to do so." In the deposition of Balvantrao Bhau he stated Umia Shankar to have given him the clothes and shawls and the 470 Rupees; but these His Highness asserts himself to have ordered him from the the potdars on account of his complaining of his expenses, and of his personal allowance of 200 Rupees per month not being duly paid. When the reading of the deposition was finished, he desired to look at it, and said that it was neither Balvantrao Bhau's handwriting, nor had it even his signature. He then observed upon that part, which states his having been compelled to put his name to a Gujarati paper, without having it read to him, and begged I would write down what he had to say upon that subject, which was to this effect: "That Balwantrao Bhau gave the written paper in his presence before Shevak Sunder Banyec, Appajipant, Kashipant and Umia Shankar; the other attendants were sitting outside; the paper was read to Balvantrao, and these people are witnesses to the fact. Balvantrao related what he had to say, and I [*Sayajirao*] repeated it to Shewak Sunder, who wrote it down."

I suggested that the paper should be produced, which His Highness assented to; and I found it to contain an avowal of his (Balvantrao's) having committed this deed of his own free will, and a statement of Takhatabai and others having endeavoured to persuade him to give up some person's name as having instigated him to the perpetration of the act, and an account of two designs against Sayaji's life. His Highness said the reason he took this paper from Balvantrao Bhau was that, from his character and the intrigues that were

It was intended to make Dhakji Dadaji and Sayajirao unpopular.

constantly going on, he was certain no considerable time would elapse without his accusing some person of having induced him to commit the act. This paper is dated upwards of a month and a half ago. His Highness also informed me that Balvantrao had on a former occasion, when he went with his retinue to Becharji, avowed his intention of putting Mahadev to death, and that he desired him not.

The bargirs were examined in the presence of His Highness; their evidence was found at variance with what they had formerly deposed before Captain Ballantine; and they could not produce any other person than themselves to substantiate the fact of their even being known to Umia Shankar; and they were also unable to recollect any person that was at Umia's house, when either of them went there. In the deposition, given to Captain Ballantine, both bargirs subscribe to one story, as that they both went together to Umia's house, and both went together to the Unchipol gate. On their examination they declared that only one of them went to the Unchipol gate, and that they went at different periods, singly, to Umia's house; but both persisted in declaring they know not a soul among the number of people who were at Umia's house, when either of them went there. Their former deposition before Captain Ballantine mentions four persons.

Balvantrao Bhau being shown the paper he had given to Captain Ballantine, and having heard it read, declared it was true. Adverting to the relative situation of His Highness and Balvantrao, and the statement made by His Highness on the subject of the Gujarati paper, taken by him from the former, with his reason for so doing, which was attested by witnesses, it was not conceived expedient to put any further questions to Balvantrao Bhau.

His Highness desired Umia Shankar to be sent for, and caused the depositions to be read to him. He stated that the depositions did not contain a word of truth, that, on Sayajirao's accession, Balvantrao had threatened him for having, as he said, ruined his affairs, meaning that he had not supported his title to the gadi. He said that he was unacquainted with these two bargirs by name, but that all the bargirs, when he went to the palace on business, were accustomed to rise and salute him; and that he became acquainted with the death of Mahadev on being sent for by Sayajirao. This corroborated His Highness's statement as also that part relating to the clothes and money, stated by Balvantrao to have been given by Umia Shankar to him. His evidence also agreed with His Highness's in respect to the Gujarati paper taken from Balvantrao Bhau.

Regarding the accusation of having occasioned the death of a man by causing him to be severely flogged with a bamboo in his garden, he declared he knew nothing of it; and the evidence called in support of this charge was throughout so contradictory, and apparently so untrue as to fail altogether in supporting the accusation brought forward against Umia Shankar; and it was the opinion of His Highness, in which I could not but fully concur, that both the accusations against Umia Shankar were unsupported by

any evidence, sufficient to justify a presumption of his guilt. Pending the investigation, His Highness took occasion to observe, as follows. On hearing Balvantrao's statement read, His Highness said: "He has acted from the instigation of others." I asked: "Of whom?" when he replied: "My succeeding to the government was against the wish or desire of many persons. Supported by the Resident, I did succeed. These people have an enmity against me". His Highness further said that Takhtabai had entertained hopes of obtaining the government for her son Balvantrao. Disappointed in this, she became inveterate in her animosity, and that he had no doubt of her having instructed her son to go to Captain Ballantine's house and make the declaration he did, and that the insertion of Umia's name in the deposition was purely to be ascribed to his being a person employed under that influence which established him in the government and also was confided in by himself. "Balwantrao Bhau," continued His Highness, "is not so young or so inexperienced as to have committed this act solely at the instigation of another, and the bargirs, who say they killed Mahadev at the advice of Umia Shankar, ought to be able to produce to me better proof than their own contradictory statement; and it is strange that they should not have insisted upon some writing or token from him before they acted upon his advice in committing this offence."

No further evidence being brought forward, His Highness declared that he considered Umia Shankar guiltless and as such released him, at the same time presenting him with a selah and turban, as publicly marking his innocence. This was done in open Darbar.

Baroda, 19th February, 1819 (1819, P. D. 464)

1819

James R. Carnac to Mr. Newnham.

13. The avaricious objects however of this Minister [*Vithalrao Explanation Bhau*], united to those of the darakdars, who from being actively controlled in the exercise of their functions are disappointed of many illicit advantages, dispose them to combine secretly in promoting an alteration in the present system.

14. This spirit has given rise to factious cabals, whose object is to overturn and thwart the due management of public affairs, and has recently made its appearance through the medium of a charge against an individual of the name of Umia Shankar, who had excited great jealousy with the Bhau and the rest of his party from his concern and employment as a gumashita in transacting the business of the Potdari, establishment under the direction of Dhakji Dadaji, to whose control a moiety of this department has been committed with great profit to the interests of the Baroda Government, but not without great sacrifices to the moneyed interests.

15. A desire to disturb the present Government proceeds also from the high confidence reposed by Sayaji in the respectability and fidelity of Dhakji Dadaji and [from] the disposition [which] this Prince so openly discovers to respect his advice and to allow it to influence his conduct. This degree of favour and countenance is the

object of deep jealousy, at the same time that an extensive conspiracy prevails against the reforms of those abuses which the integrity of his character has led him to execute.

16. It is the resolution, which Dhakji Dadaji maintains, notwithstanding every temptation to divert him from the upright discharge of every duty he undertakes, that, I am convinced, prompts the inveterate spirit of hostility which marks the disappointed views of the factiously disposed at this Darbar.

17. On reaching Baroda I found the accusations, adduced against Uma Shankar, before my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, in a formal manner, by Balvantrao, the son of Takhatabai, the favourite wife of the Raja; and in consequence of the very seriousness of the charge, the person of Umia Shankar had been placed under restraint, and was held subject to such decision as might be passed on the subject.

18. When the confinement of Umia Shankar took place, reports of the most aggravated character, respecting peculations, were studiously circulated through the country, implicating the name of Dhakji Dadaji with those of the individual in confinements.

19. The object of the conspiracy was thus unfolded; and the purity of the motives of those who were supposed to influence the measures of control enforced by Sayaji, was ascribed to corruption, while general complaints of malversations were loudly avowed, but in no form that was tangible to inquiry.

20. It was now easy to discover that some combined influence was working to wound the feelings and respectability of those who enjoyed the confidence of Sayaji by impeaching their integrity through a hostile effort to deprive his administration of their aid and by other intrigues to obtain countenance and support to their own party.

28. Balvantrao Bhau, the principal accuser of Umia, is the son of Takhatabai Gaikwad, and the same person whose claim to succeed Fatesing was disappointed by the support given to the more legitimate rights of Sayaji.

Mahadev's murder 29. The person Mahadev, whose death was made the foundation of the accusation, had been long engaged on carrying on a criminal intercourse with a female branch of the Gaikwad family, and the nature of this connection had rendered him for some time an object of resentment among many members of it.

30. Balvantrao Bhau, from his nearer connection with the object whose honour was affected by Mahadev's criminal correspondence, was most likely to feel an inveterate spirit of animosity against him. This appears evidently to have existed from his own declaration of a determination to destroy Mahadev, communicated to Sayaji, when visiting Becharji Pagoda many months ago, and from which he was then diverted by the prohibition of His Highness.

31. With the testimony borne to this predetermined resolution of killing Mahadev, so many months before, the charge of instigation against Umia Shanker must fall to the ground and be attributed to a

conspiracy supported by Balvantrao, taxing another with an act which evidently proceeded from the decided dictates of his own personal resentment.

32. It seems indeed in the highest degree improbable that Umia Shankar should involve himself with a character of the description of Balvantrao, who was professedly inimical to him, by instigating him to perpetrate a crime from the commission of which he could not gratify any private animosity or personal interest.

33. Balvantaro, avowedly the principal in the act, would not only partially extenuate his direct participation by attributing to another the instigation of the crime, but would also, from disappointed ambition, in all probability be gratified by such an opportunity for becoming a tool in the hands of a cabal, which, if it succeeded, were bent upon the ruin of those regarded as his opponents on the succession of Sayaji; and he estimated probably in case he effected the object of the conspiracy, a reward proportionate to the active part he took in accomplishing their designs.

34. Unless we account for the conduct of Balvantrao from such motives, when his statement is so evidently untrue, it is difficult to say what can have incited him to become so active an agent on the occasion.

35. Many views of interest would have reconciled the different parties to forget any cause of dissatisfaction after Sayaji's succession, if they had not been rendered inoperative from the indisposition of the Khangī Diwan to suppress causes of disappointed ambition, excited by himself in Fatesing's family, and created in Takhtabai's on account of the just preference to Sayaji's claims; and whatever degree of discontent continues to prevail between these parties I conceive to arise from no inclination to promote a reconciliation on the part of Vithalrao Bhau, whose influence might have been very beneficially exerted in allaying any current dissensions among the members of the Gaikwad family.

36. Between the time of the death of Mahadev and the accusation of Umia Shankar nearly two months had elapsed, and during this period very powerful intrigues were in activity with Sayaji on the part of Vithalrao for the purpose of alienating his mind from his present policy. These however were all unsuccessful, and the Bhau's attempts to obtain increased power and influence were entirely disregarded; subsequent to their failure, that charge against Umia Shankar was brought forward.

37. After the investigation had been gone through, and Umia *Sayaji's* Shankar's innocence established, I had an interview with His High-*views* ness, during which he took occasion to remark that the satisfaction he derived from the result of the inquiry, was founded principally on the pleasure it always afforded him to attend to my wishes; adding at the same time that the previous designs on the part of the Bhau, in conjunction with others, had proved to him before its commencement that a cabal was boldly exerting its power in attempts to destroy the reputation of those from whose assistance he derived great aid in

conducting the affairs of his State. His Highness next dwelt on the proofs, which he possessed, to establish the existence of a dangerous confederacy to increase the power of the Bhau through a threat of removing the administration of this government from His Highness to the palace of the Raja, unless His Highness would conform to a plan for lessening the British influence in the conduct of his Government's discountenancing the advice of Dhakji, and rendering the agency of Vithalrao ascendent in all public transactions. His Highness went on to remark with great discrimination and feeling on the enmities prevailing in consequence of his succession to his brother, Fatesing, and stated his anxiety to have the firmest support from the British Residency.

38. The intrigues of the Bhau were, His Highness observed, aided by others; and if they succeeded, he was well aware they would be the means of interrupting those measures that he felt convinced the true interests of the Gaikwad Government called upon him to pursue, and in supporting which he was so firmly and honestly assisted by the zealous assiduity of Dhakji Dadaji. His ability and integrity, His Highness added, proved most valuable to him for carrying into effect many measures highly advantageous to the Gaikwad State and for the maintenance of the present system. His Highness avowed his dependence entirely upon our resolute support; for without it he felt that the wealth and influence opposing him might prove dangerous. The late faction was intended, His Highness asserted, to remove Dhakji from being instrumental in assisting him; and the conduct, displayed by the Bhau, had been then marked by a spirit and disposition similar to that he had shown ever since his elevation, and which had operated so detrimentally as to dictate the policy and necessity of supporting his administration by some person of respectability and intelligence, better disposed to uphold its interest by promoting rather than opposing and thwarting him, in a due perseverance of a vigorous control through every branch of his affairs. Under any alteration however His Highness expressed the most earnest anxiety to possess the assistance of Dhakji Dadaji and to be allowed an opportunity of testifying his marked approbation by some substantial evidence of his confidence in return for the extensive benefits resulting to the Baroda Government from the vast savings, which his exertions had been the medium of securing by reforms in the public expenditure. His Highness concluded a long detail of incidents to prove the opposition he felt from Vithalrao Bhau's influence, by strenuously supporting the expediency for lessening his power and obtaining the aid of another member to the Government, who would be disposed to co-operate with him cordially in supporting the measures His Highness felt it to be his duty to enforce in the administration of public affairs.

1819 Bombay, 17th March 1819 (1819, P. D. 464)

The Right Hon'ble the Governor Sir Evan Nepean to His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad.

*Support
promised*

In the reports of Captain Carnac he has not failed to represent the indefatigable zeal, with which the Native Agent, Dhakji Dadaji,

had discharged the duties confided to him, and the satisfaction Your Highness has derived from his services. It is gratifying to this Government to learn that such results have been [attained] by his employment; and while his conduct may merit it, he will be sure to derive all the support and protection he could desire from the Resident, by whom he was recommended to fill the confidential station he holds under this Government.

It happens unfortunately at this important crisis that Captain Carnac is compelled by severe indisposition to have recourse to a temporary absence. But it is hoped that such absence will be only of short duration, and in the meanwhile most positive instructions will be given to Mr. Williams, who has been appointed to act as Resident at your Darbar during his absence, to follow up in all respects the system pursued by his principal and to afford every aid in his power to the support of Your Highness's Administration.

It is hoped that with his assistance and a distinct understanding that your measures appear to this Government to be of a character, which justly entitles them to our highest commendation, the influence of the party opposed to Your Highness will not be attended with any unpleasant effects. But, if contrary to our expectation, such influence should lead to embarrassments, this Government will be ready to exert all its influence in the support of such arrangements as may be calculated to stem the torrent of opposition and enable Your Highness to execute the duties of your important trust in a manner agreeable to your own feelings and beneficial to the public service.

Baroda, 18th April, 1819 (1819 P. D. 465)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

1. I have the honour to acquaint you that I waited on His Highness Sayajirao in the morning of the 15th, and presented the letter [letter of September 28, 1818] from the Right Hon'ble the Governor. *Affairs in Baroda*

3. I am happy to acquaint you that the receipt of this letter from the Right Hon'ble the Governor has been attended with the best effects, as it has shown to the ill-disposed, that Government are determined to afford His Highness every aid, to enable him to discharge with efficiency the trust with which he is invested. Until the arrival of this letter many reports had been industriously circulated in the town, reporting the intentions of the British Government, who, it was said, were not fully determined upon supporting Sayaji's pretensions to the gadi, and that another arrangement would soon be made. These reports occasioned much uneasiness to His Highness, who frequently spoke to me upon the subject, and also regarding the conduct pursued by the family and relations of the late Fatesing, who had refused to accept the nemnuk or provisions made for them by His Highness, although on a most liberal scale, on account of the clause annexed to it by Captain Carnac that the boy Govindrao had no title from his adoption to the gadi. It is requisite in this place that I should mention the discussions, which took place between

Dadaji Garud and Bhau Handia on the part of the ladies of the family and myself, some time back, from the tenor of which the Right Hon'ble the Governor will perceive that the motives of the Minister-Vithalrao Bhau and others in pressing that adoption on the Raja and Captain Carnac were not for the sole purpose of preventing the widow Radhabai from burning with the body of her husband and reconciling her to life, but that they had hoped in that season of affliction to have induced Captain Carnac to assent to the adoption unconditionally; but they were distinctly informed on that occasion in the most public manner that this adoption gave the boy no title to the succession. Dadaji Garud commenced conversation by asking me whether I intended to accede to the request by withdrawing the objectionable clause in the nemnuk. I told him I certainly did not; when he said in rather an offensive tone: "What then was the use of the adoption?" that it was a mockery, a thing unheard of, that in all situations of life the adopted son succeeded to the estate of his father. I replied that might be all very true, but this had taken place under peculiar circumstances and was only agreed to by the Raja and Resident on the part of the British Government for the special purpose of preventing the widow from becoming a sati, under a positive undertaking that the boy had no pretensions whatever to the Government from the adoption. He then said that the ladies never understood the matter in that light, or they would never have agreed to so ridiculous an arrangement. I observed [that,] if that was the case, he and the Ministers, and the other advisers of the family stood in a most culpable predicament; that I could prove by the testimony of respectable witnesses that the Resident distinctly made known to them the terms on which he acceded to the request of the ladies; and that he had desired them to inform the family of it; that they returned and reported the acquiescence of the mother and widow of His Highness. If therefore it was, as they stated, the fact that the ladies were unaware of the conditions, it was evident that the relatives of the family and the Minister had violated the duty that they owed to their own Government and merited punishment. They made no particular reply to this; but said that, though they did not mean to oppose the superior pretensions of Sayaji, the boy had some title after him, which, by accepting the nemnuk, as it now stood, they would be relinquishing. I told them I never would admit that he had the smallest pretensions. I was asked (to use their own words) if I intended to strain the family. I said far from it; that His Highness Sayajirao, out of respect to the memory of Fatesing and regard for the ladies of his family, would of course make some provisions for them; but that it would not be on the same liberal scale as that offered to their acceptance; and that, while they advanced such extravagant pretensions, it could not be expected that His Highness would show any particular favour towards them.

4. I asked them whether they intended to give up the remaining insignia, the silver ambari or howdah and the piece of the horse artillery. They said the ladies would not agree to it; that they were private property. I told them that I had hitherto dissuaded His Highness from any harsh exercise of his authority, but that now I should no longer interfere. On this they took leave.

B. SAYAJIRAO GAIKWAD RULER

Baroda, 2nd October, 1819 (1819 P. D. 471)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

I request you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that at half past three o'clock on this day, after an illness of only a few days, His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad expired. I shall have the honour to transmit a more detailed account of this melancholy event and of the measures I have adopted in consequence, to-morrow.

Anandrao
dead

Baroda, 3rd October, 1819 (1819 P. D. 471)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

My letter of yesterday's date will have apprised the right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the death of His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad, which melancholy event occurred about half past three o'clock in the afternoon.

Anandrao's
demise

After the usual ceremonies the corpse was conveyed to the banks of the river, attended by the Ministers and the principal officers of Government, and there burnt, about 6 o'clock the same evening.

His Highness Sayajirao did not himself accompany the mournful procession, as it is not customary amongst the Marathas that the successor to the gadi should attend the last ceremonies paid to the deceased Raja.

I had previously increased the guards in the town and at the palace at the request of Sayajirao to be prepared for any unforeseen event, which might have occurred on the occasion. I am however happy to say that no disturbance whatever has taken place, and that everything has been transacted in the peace and tranquillity as usual. The gates of the fort as well as the shops, as is customary, were closed; the latter will remain so far the next two or three days.

His late Highness had been for some time ailing, but I understand it was not till the Dasara that any danger began to be apprehended, when his indisposition assumed symptoms of an alarming appearance.

On the following day I went with Sayajirao, accompanied by Doctor Kembal, the surgeon attached to the Residency, to visit him. His Highness appeared to be in a state of very great debility, but not to be in any very immediate danger, and in complete possession of his faculties, so much so, that he took this opportunity to rebuke Sayajirao severely for not having sent him the usual clothes for the Dasara.

I made him the usual presents, with which he appeared much gratified.

On the 30th his complaint returned with increased violence, and but slight hopes were entertained of his recovery. His Highness Sayajirao and the Ministers remained at the palace the greater part of the night.

Yesterday morning I was sent for about 11 o'clock in great haste by Sayajirao, requesting me to come to the palace, as it was not thought possible that the Raja could survive many hours longer. On my arrival there I visited the Raja, who appeared quite senseless and in a dying state. Doctor Kembal, who also saw him, was of the same opinion. He had for some time refused to take any medicine or to pay regard to the advice of any of those who had for many years been accustomed to attend upon his person. He was lying on a kind of mattress on the floor with a stone for his pillow (His Highness had for some time past practised many religious austerities, which will account for this circumstance) near the jamdarkhana or treasury, in order that he might keep an eye upon it and preserve it to the last. As the love of collecting and heaping up riches had been his ruling passion through life, so it continued even in the agonies of death.

He had for some years past been much addicted to the taking of opium, which custom, for a few days previous to his demise, he suddenly abandoned. This alone was sufficient to have caused the death of a person arrived at his advanced period of life, but no persuasive arguments or entreaties of his relations or friends could induce him to alter his resolution.

Some little discussion took place with Takhtabai relative to the last religious ceremony performed to the Raja in his dying moments, which she wished should be done by her son, but which it was requisite should be performed by Sayajirao, the heir apparent, *viz.* the taking the head of the Raja on his knee, and while the officiating Brahmans repeat the customary prayers, pouring a little water into his mouth. This His Highness Sayaji performed.

I left Captain Perkins at the palace; and His Highness, having placed his own guards over the treasury, took with him the keys of it and of the citadel.

The property of the Raja devolves to the State and will be available, after discharge of his private debts, through Sayajirao to the liquidation of the encumbrances of the Government.

Its amount is variously stated, but I am in great hopes that it will be found to be from 30 to 40 lakhs of Rupees.

A suitable and liberal provision will be made for Takhtabai and her two sons, Balvantrao Bhau and Pilajirao. The three remaining widows (Dereobai, Revabai and Umedabai) are already provided for. I am happy to say that none of them evinced any inclination to become satis. Their only object appears to have been to get possession of the treasure, and Takhtabai intimated that she would destroy herself the moment His Highness Sayajirao took it away, unless I was present and authorised it; but, as she is a shrewd and sensible woman, there is little fear to be apprehended of her putting her threats into execution.

Minute guns were fired at the Residency as well as in the cantonments at sunrise this morning to the number of 55, corresponding with the age of His late Highness, and the flag hoisted half-mast high, as a tribute of respect to his memory.

'After the period of mourning shall have terminated, which will continue for the 12 following days, the jamdarkhana will be examined, when I shall be enabled to obtain an accurate account of the amount of treasure and other articles left by the deceased, as well as to enter upon the necessary arrangements for the future provision of His late Highness's family.

A report is circulated in the town that Balvantrao Bhau is to succeed Sayajirao as mutalik, and another that Govindrao, the adopted son of Radhabai, the widow of Fatesing. These are evidently set about by the faction adverse to Sayajirao, and I have declared that nothing of the kind can take place.

Baroda, 6th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 471)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that yesterday, at the request of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, I attended at his house in order to be present at the ceremony of directing the old seal of the State to be destroyed, and ordering a new one to be made with the name of His Highness engraved upon it. On this occasion several persons, confined for debt and other petty civil offences, as is usual, were released from their confinement. The shops likewise, which had been closed since the death of the late Raja, were again opened, and His Highness proclaimed to the people by the crier as the successor to the gadi. Sayajirao's accession

His Highness expressed his hope that the British Government would extend to him the same aid and support to the administration of his affairs as had been afforded to his deceased brother, and which had been the cause of many reciprocal benefits to both Governments, and in conclusion added that he fully appreciated the value he derived from our alliance; he trusted he never should be induced under any consideration whatever to swerve from the paths of strict friendship. I replied by assuring him that my Government were equally sensible of the advantages which both Governments gained by our friendly interference in supporting and proposing at different times many very important reforms in his Government, that assistance would at all times be given to him in the arduous duties of the high situation, to which he had lately succeeded, in every respect the same as had been given to his deceased brother, and [I] concluded by stating that the alliance, I trusted, might be considered as likely to be, if possible, upon a surer and firmer basis than it had hitherto been, and that the advantages to be derived would increase in proportion.

I accompanied His Highness to the palace to pay a visit of condolence to Takhatabai, the principal widow of the late Raja, who from the excess of her real or feigned grief would not see either His Highness or myself. She however sent for Vithalrao Bhau and Dhakji Dadaji to express her hopes through them that Sayajirao and myself, as the representative of the British Government, would continue to protect her and her sons, Balwantrao and Pilaji Bhau. This we both promised to do so long as their good conduct should merit it; after which we quitted the palace.

On our departure I am informed that Takhatabai entered into a long conversation with the two Ministers upon the subject to which herself and all parties appear to attach the greatest importance, viz. in what manner the jamdarkhana or treasury of His late Highness would be disposed of.

She was informed that it would in the first place be appropriated to the discharge of the private debts of the Raja. In the second to the liquidation of those of the State, and the remainder, if any, would become the property of His Highness Sayajirao. She was further informed that herself and sons would be liberally and handsomely provided for.

1819 Baroda, 21st October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 472)

James Williams to Frances Warden.

Sayaj's accession I request you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that on the morning of the 17th instant His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad took his seat on the gadi.

1819 Bombay, 5th November, 1819, (1819, P. D. 472)

Mountstuart Elphinstone to His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad.

Promises The Hon'ble Court of Directors having appointed me to the office of Governor of Bombay and its dependencies, it affords me pleasure to announce to Your Highness my having assumed charge of this important trust on the 1st of this month.

I cannot on this occasion content myself with conveying to Your Highness my assurances of high consideration and respect. I deem it to be an especial part of my duty to make known to Your Highness my determination to maintain the present close and intimate connection between the two States upon the same friendly footing that it has hitherto existed on, and to add that I learn with feelings of cordial approbation Your Highness's desire to confirm and perpetuate the existing alliance by cultivating at all times a cordial and confidential intercourse with the British Representative at Your Highness's Court.

1819 Baroda, 21st November, 1819 (1819, P. D. 474)

Translation of a letter from Sayajirao to Elphinstone.

Congratulations I received at a happy moment on the 30th of Muharram (19th Nov.) your letter of the 16th of the same month (5th November), and have derived extreme gratification from the intelligence of your arrival at Bombay, and of your assumption of Government, as well as from the declaration of your desire to maintain the alliance subsisting between the two Governments upon the footing that it has hitherto existed on; all of which I have fully understood. And your taking charge of the government of Bombay, in pursuance of your appointment to that office by the Hon'ble Company, has been followed by every demonstration of satisfaction and by every other observance suitable to the occasion; and I feel persuaded that your generous disposition will also prompt you hereafter to afford me at all times the gratification of receiving, as I may expect to do, the pleasing

assurance that your conduct, under the alliance which has been mutually cultivated with the most cordial feelings, will be in conformity with your present communication; but it is unnecessary to say more on this subject. I beg to refer to the letters from Mr. James Williams, the Acting Resident, for further particulars; and I hope that you will continue, in consideration to the existing good understanding, to afford me the gratification of your correspondence.

No. 2. FAMILY DISSENSIONS

These dissensions were mainly the result of the opposition to Sayajirao, after his succession to the gadi. Not that his opponents had any hope of deposing the new ruler, their main concern seems to have been to supersede Sayajirao's heirs and descendants. However the quarrel which ensued, did not assume any political importance, it remained a family affair.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 8th July, 1819 (1819, P. D. 470)

1819

At a Consultation.

The enclosed was delivered to me this morning by a karkun from *Letter* the widow and mother of the late Fatesing with a Persian letter, which I put into the hands of Mr. Goodwin, who happened to be with me at the time.

Case of the mother, widow and son of His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad.

That on the 6th day of the Vad Jyeshth Samvat, 1874, His late High- *Chief* ness Fatesing Gaikwad departed from this world, when Mr. Carnac, *complaint* Sayaji Maharaj, the ministers and the karkuns of the Gaikwad Government were present, when the second wife of the deceased became sati (meaning to enter into fire); at which time Mr. Carnac, the ministers and karkuns of the Gaikwad State determined to endeavour such a mode as to prevent the deceased's wife from entering the fire; and accordingly resolved that the son, by name of Bapu Saheb, of Ganpatrao should be given and made an adopted son of the deceased; and at the very moment this determination was carried into final effect, and the funeral ceremony of the deceased had been performed by the hands of the adopted son. Subsequent to this circumstance the ministers and karkuns of the deceased applied to us to know in regard to the future management of the affairs; when they were informed by us that Mr. Carnac and the others know everything regarding the deceased, and they will not fail to take every care of us, because the adopted son has been taken by their consent and advice, since which ourselves and the karkuns were silent.

That on the first day of Vad Ashadh we were given to understand that on the next day the administration of the Gaikwad

Government will be placed in the hands of His Highness Sayaji Maharaj, and the usual clothing of honour will be given to him; upon which we sent our karkuns to Dhakji Dadaji with instructions to inquire from him how the above circumstance is likely to take place; because there is a son of the deceased to succeed to his dignity, and for which a full assurance was also made by Mr. Carnac; but that Dhakji does not take this into his consideration, but only answered the karkuns to apply to Vithoba Bhau, the Minister of the Gaikwad. The karkuns accordingly went to him, who informed them that he has nothing to do with the case in question, but on this occasion they may better make an application to Mr. Carnac. The karkuns accordingly went to Mr. Carnac and represented the above circumstances to him, by whom they were informed that we are not to [be] considered to make enemies on the present occasion of placing the administration of the Gaikwad State into the hands of Sayaji Maharaj; and as he (Mr. Carnac) and others, reckoning the deceased's son into his room and in his equal situation, and that his character will be raised hereafter on his gaining the proper age. After thus being informed by Mr. Carnac, the karkuns answered Mr. Carnac that he will be pleased to give his call and inform the above personally, to which that Gentleman agreed. When the karkuns returned to our quarter and waited for a few hours for the arrival of Mr. Carnac, who in company of Vithoba Bhau and Dhakji Dadaji, instead of coming to us, proceeded to the bhaddar, (the place of throne) from whence they sent for [Sayaji]; the administration of the State [was] accordingly given to him [Sayaji], and the whole returned to their respective places.

On hearing these circumstances, we were too much sorry and remained that day without feeding. On the following day this circumstance reached the ear of Mr. Carnac, who on that day with Vithoba Bhau and Dhakji came to us and informed us that, whatever has been done, is according to the law and custom of the Government. [Then there follows a long list of other complaints, none of them of any political importance, every one of them of a domestic nature, such as: giving up the jaripatka, the dagger and seal, the curtailing of expenses, the dismissal of servants, the question of the annual allowance, the use of horses and carriages, giving up the drums, etc.]

1819 Bombay, 29th September, 1819 (1819, P.D. 470)

Letter from the mother of Fatesing to the President.

Adopted son ignored At the time of the demise of my son Fatesingrao Gaikwad, his widow Radhabai had resolved to burn herself with his corpse, in conformity with the practice which has for so long a time existed among the Hindus. But Captain Carnac, Sayajirao Gaikwad and the officers of the Hon'ble Company's Government, together with those of the Gaikwad State, assembled and, taking in consideration that the event in question left them without any resource or alternative, determined that it was proper they should reward his [Fatesingrao's] services by bringing forward and supporting his posterity, especially as the close and intimate alliance, which had subsisted for a length of time between the Gaikwad Government and the Hon'ble Company, had been renewed and consolidated by him, and also to restrain his afflicted widow from

burning herself. All the above named [persons] having fully agreed upon these points, the eldest son of Ganpatrao Gaikwad, the cousin of the deceased, [was sent] for, with my concurrence and that of Gahenabai Gaikwad, and placed in the lap of the widow; and they not only declared him the child of Fatesing, but caused him to burn the corpse, when carried to the bank of the river, and to perform all the funeral rites of the deceased as his son, for thirteen days. Now according to the Hindu Law there is no distinction between a person so situated and one born to him. Still, however the administration of the Government, which was vested in Fatesingrao Gaikwad, was bestowed upon Sayajirao Gaikwad, the younger brother of the deceased; and although the arrangements, made by Captain Carnac, connected with our domestic expenses, were neither suited to our rank and dignity nor to the private claims upon us, yet we accepted them with a determination to manage with a small allowance in question, leaving the increase of it as a subject for future discussion.

As soon as Captain Carnac had left this place, we received a most unbecomming message from Sayajirao Gaikwad, intimating that arrangements would be made in our favour, in conformity with the settlement concluded by Captain Carnac, provided we consented to relinquish all pretensions to the government, otherwise he would not pay us a single farthing; and since the dissolution of Fatesingrao Gaikwad, which happened nearly a year ago; we have not received anything. Nay, since the departure of Captain Carnac, even the supplies we used to obtain from the public stores (modikhana), have been withheld; in consequence of which the privation and hardships we have suffered, exceed all bounds. We have therefore dispatched Raoji Keshav, one of our family karkuns, to the Presidency, where he will verbally make our case fully known. As Fatesingrao established and maintained the most cordial and intimate relations with the Hon'ble Company's Government, it behoves Your Excellency to keep the same in mind and take such steps as will ensure our welfare; for now-a-days we have no one else to whom we can look up for protection and support. Although these circumstances have no doubt occurred to Your Excellency's mind, I have deemed it proper to call your attention, by these few lines, to the painful situation in which I am placed. As your threshold is the only asylum in this world, I hope this application will be acquiesced in, and that by Your Excellency's interference I shall attain my object. *Other complaints*

President's minute, 28th August.

The Acting Chief Secretary, in conformity with the sense of the majority of the Board, will prepare the draft of a letter to the Assistant Resident in charge, explaining to him the views we have taken of the claims of this family, and our anxious wish that provision should be made for their support and maintenance consistently with their exalted rank and situation, on the principle and to the extent proposed to His Highness by Captain Carnac, and direct Mr. Williams to take the first favourable opportunity of exerting his best endeavours to prevail on His Highness to carry that arrangement into effect, which, it is understood, had originally received his concurrence, unfettered *Orders to Williams*

by any condition, to which I cannot help regretting the representative of this Government should have made himself a party. Nor did any such condition appear to be necessary, considering the solemn assurances, which had been given to Sayaji, of its determination to support the pretensions of His Highness and his family.

The respectability of the late Fatesing's character and the eminent services, rendered by him in promoting the united interests of this country and Baroda State, cannot be forgotten, and have induced this Government to take the most lively interest in the welfare of his widow and the other branches of his family; and with these feelings we are desirous that Mr. Williams should impress on the mind of His Highness that no act on his part could be more gratifying to this Government than his meeting its wishes on the present occasion.

I must acknowledge my ignorance of the consequences that ought to have been attached to the detention of the elephant carriage and piece of artillery by the widow, until it was explained to me by Mr. Prendergast; and under the impressions I have since formed, I cannot but indulge a hope that Sayaji may be prevailed upon to abandon his design of insisting on their being delivered up, and of disgracing the widow and her family; which, I am taught to believe, would be the case, were he to persist in that design.

In making these communications to His Highness Mr. Williams will repeat to him the strongest desire on the part of this Government to support his administration, assuring him at the same time that we have nothing more at heart than to see it marked with those useful and amicable qualities which so much distinguished the conduct and character of his late brother.

1819 *Baroda, 21st August, 1819 (1819, P. D. 470)*

James Williams to Francis Warden.

Widows' proposal Some days back I received a visit from Daji Garud, who complained very bitterly to me of the treatment they [*the widows*] had received from His Highness. They said that he ordered their allowances from the modikhana to be stopped, and detailed many other petty grievances, and concluded by expressing a wish that I would speak to His Highness on the subject; which I promised to do. He then conversed upon the subject of the nemnuk or provision for the family, and said that it would be very easy to reconcile both parties by adopting the plan suggested to Captain Carnac and to myself; which was to allow the yad or deed, which has the signature and seals of His Highness and the Government with those of the ministers and of the Resident, to remain in the office of the fadnavis, and to deliver to the family a schedule of the amount of the provision made them, omitting the objectionable part of the paper, relating to the adopted boy Govindrao; which, he observed, would be a delicate consideration to the feelings of the family. I said that I would speak to His Highness; and that, if he agreed, I should also; and that I thought it a reasonable measure. On his taking leave he urged me to decide the question at once, and to insist on His Highness's acceding to it. I

told him I could not do this, as it was understood through the town that a vakil from the family had arrived in Bombay to lay their case before the Right Hon'ble the Governor, that they had better wait until I received instructions upon the subject. He then said they had sent the vakil with no intention of complaining against me, but merely to represent their grievances. After some further conversation, in the course of which I told him he might rest assured and satisfy the ladies that the British Government would always take an interest in their welfare, he took leave.

I had an opportunity shortly afterwards of meeting His Highness in one of his gardens, and spoke to him on the subject, when he declared that the allowances for the family from the modikhana were not discontinued, but that he had refused to allow them a larger quantity than was actually necessary; that it was true that they did not receive the whole amount they would be entitled to on accepting the nemnuk. And it was not to be expected that he would allow of their doing so, that they had the produce of several villages and a paga. I then strongly urged upon His Highness's attention the measure proposed by Daji Garud, to which he gave a most decided refusal; and said that I must excuse him, but that he felt extreme surprise at such a proposal having come from me, who was present when Captain Carnac discussed this very point; and at last he determined that, if the family did not accept the original paper, that they were not to enjoy any of the benefits derivable from it. I told His Highness my object in pressing it on his attention was that I conceived it to be a good way of reconciling the families; and I thought there could be no harm in gratifying the feelings of the ladies by giving them merely the schedule of the nemnuk and keeping the original with the Government; that it would always remain as a document showing the conditions, on which the boy Govindrao was adopted, and that His Highness's right of succession had been acknowledged by the British Government; and that nothing the family could say or do, would affect his title or that of his children. To this His Highness replied by saying he would talk further on the subject and requested a meeting three days afterwards at the same garden.

I waited on His Highness at the appointed time, when he produced the original paper; and desiring it to be read, he asked me if I did not think it liberal. I told him it was most so, but that was not the point in dispute. He then drew my attention to the commencement of the paper, which expressly says that the boy Govindrao was adopted to prevent Radhabai from becoming a sati, and that he possessed no claim to the gadi from his adoption. He desired me to explain to him the writing in English at the bottom; which I did; the purport of which was that this paper was executed in full Darbar with the seals and signatures, as usual, affixed; and that by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council he, the Resident, annexed his seal and signature. His Highness said he considered this as binding on us as a treaty, that we distinctly admitted that the boy Govindrao had no title from his adoption, and yet pressed him to accede to a measure proposed by the family, which

was intended to save them from agreeing to the only terms on which that adoption ever would have been sanctioned by the Raja or the British Government. "What", said His Highness, "is their motive for this? Is it not clear that they consider the boy by adoption has succeeded to all the rights and title of Fatesing? And do you not know, unless there is an express stipulation as in this case to the contrary, that an adopted child according to the Hindu Law enjoys the same rights as a son? Look at Sitaram adopted by Raoba, look at the present Raja of Dhar and many others; and how can you say that you think it likely to promote a reconciliation between the families, when you are perfectly aware of their having reported everywhere publicly that Radhabai never adopted the child on such preposterous conditions? And have they not at various times denied that the ladies ever understood it in that way, or that Captain Carnac himself at the time did?" I was obliged to admit the truth of all His Highness said, when he continued as follows. "It is a custom, when grants of any kind are made, that the original paper is delivered to the person on whom they are conferred; and a copy remains with the Government. Supposing I accede to this request. Twenty years afterwards, when new Residents and new Governors arrive, and I am gone, this Govindrao may dispute my son's title by asserting his adoption, which nobody can deny, and producing the paper given him by the Government, in which there will be no mention made of the conditions under which he was adopted; and they will say: This paper contains no such stipulation. The one, which will remain with the Government, it may be asserted, has been altered or perhaps written subsequently; and the Resident and Governor at this distance of time, knowing the rights which adoption usually confers, will be inclined to support him." "Besides," said he, "after all we are Marathas, and there is nothing like a *dastawez* [legal document], and I now take this opportunity of telling you, although I have an esteem and regard for your opinion and every respect for the British Government, yet in a case like the present, vitally affecting the interests of my family, I will never consent. As to a reconciliation, the family have certainly chosen a curious mode of effecting it, by sending a *vakil* to Bombay to complain of me and, if possible, to disturb the arrangement made by Captain Carnac." His Highness concluded by desiring I would use my influence with the family to induce them at once to accept the *nemnuk*, as these quarrels were disreputable between relations. I told His Highness that it would be much more agreeable to me to await the sentiments of the Right Hon'ble the Governor; to which His Highness said he with pleasure acceded.

*Williams's
proposal*

I have no doubt some inconsiderate and unnecessary distress has been occasioned by His Highness and his mother to the family; but that is attributable to the jealousy he entertains of their views. His Highness spoke throughout most fluently and in a most impressive manner in Hindustani; and I confess I took my leave, entertaining sentiments far different from those with which I entered upon the conversation; and I now think that pressing His Highness to accede to the wishes of the family, would be attended with no good effects;

and in fact I do not see how we could interfere further than by friendly remonstrance, especially as this is not a financial question. Our influence will always be sufficient to ensure protection to His late Highness's family, but I do not think we are to support them in pretensions, which in strict justice they are not entitled to, and which His Highness appears so decidedly adverse to. Whatever may be the opinion of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I would respectfully suggest that it be conveyed in a letter from himself to both Sayajirao and to the family of Fatesing.

Bombay, 29th September, 1819 (1819, P. D. 470)

1819

Mr. Newnham to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

As connected with your dispatch of the 18th of April last,¹ I am *Letter* directed to transmit to you a translation of a letter, received from the mother of His late Highness Fatesing Gaikwad to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor.²

2. Whilst any hope remained of the unhappy difference between His Highness Sayajirao and the family of the late Fatesing being amicably adjusted by themselves, the Governor-in-Council willingly abstained from any interference; and it is with sincere regret that after a lapse of four months he now finds those unfortunate differences not only continue undiminished, but that the family of the late Fatesing are in consequence suffering under great privation, such as, that the assurances, so formally given to them that their comfort and respectability would constitute an increasing object of the utmost solicitude of the British Government, leave this Government no longer the power of withholding its interposition in their behalf. *Bombay concerned*

3. Adverting therefore to the explanation, which you gave to the family of Fatesing, as reported in your letter of the 18th April last [18th April 1818,] from the 3rd paragraph of which it would seem they did not mean to insist on any superior rights being acquired under the adoption, which is clearly the effect of their reply to you "that they did not seem to oppose the superior pretensions of Sayaji, still the boy had some title after him," I am directed to observe that it is going too far to say that the British Government never would admit he had the smallest pretension, Captain Carnac having correctly reported in the 8th paragraph of his letter to Government of the 30th June, 1818,³ that the boy is third in the legitimate line of succession. But whatever the rights of the boy may be, the Governor-in-Council cannot find that the relinquishment of any of them had been made a principal condition on which the widow and family of the deceased were secured, with the full approbation of Sayaji and the obvious guarantee of the British Government, the allowance for their support and maintainance. Nor could any such condition be in any degree necessary, after Captain Carnac had publicly declared to the family, when assembled previously to the adoption, that such adoption gave the boy no title on that

1 See No. 1 *Sayaji's Accession*.

2 See preceding document.

3 See No. 1 *Sayaji's Accession*.

account, strengthened as that declaration was by the assurance, afterwards given to Sayaji, of the determination of the British Government to support the claims of himself and family to the gadi, which consequently could not possibly be disturbed, consistently with the above declaration and the pledge thus formally given, by any pretensions that could be asserted on the part of the adopted child.

4. The respectability of the character of the late Fatesing and the eminent services, rendered by him in promoting the united interests of the two countries, cannot so soon be forgotten and have induced this Government to take the most lively interest in the welfare of his widow and the other branches of his family; and under the pressure of these feelings the Governor-in-Council has been induced to address His Highness in their favour.

5. I enclose the letter to His Highness on this subject, which you will take an early opportunity of promoting, and exert your best endeavours to prevail on His Highness to order the full amount of the nemnuk to be settled on the family for their support and maintenance, without pressing the insertion of the clause which proves so hurtful to their feelings, and appears to this Government so unnecessary.

6. You are not required however to press this matter upon His Highness, if he should still offer any decided opposition to it; but you will at the same time explain to him distinctly that no act on his part could be more gratifying to this Government than his meeting its wishes on the present occasion; and professing those feelings, the regret it must feel that any engagement, made by its representatives, especially upon being subsequently sanctioned by His Highness, should not be scrupulously fulfilled, which the introduction of the clause on the nemnuk would render very doubtful, not having been understood by the widow and family to form a condition under which the permission is to be granted.

7. You will also assure His Highness Sayajirao of the continued determination of this Government to adhere most strictly to its engagements with His Highness, and to discourage every claim that may be asserted on the part of Govindrao to the succession, adverse to the interests of His Highness and his family, and that we can have nothing more at heart than to see his administration marked by those useful and amicable qualities which so much distinguished the conduct and character of his late brother.

8. The Governor-in-Council cannot suppose that under such friendly assurances any interposition in favour of the family of the late Fatesing can tend in the slightest degree to weaken, but on the contrary to strengthen the confidence of His Highness in the British Government; particularly when he observes that the only object of its interference is to prevent a breach of good faith on the part of its representative (against whom the complaints appeared to be principally directed), in failing to fulfil their engagement, in respect to the pecuniary provision, which the widow had been led to expect, unfettered by any condition of the nature above alluded to.

13. Since the preceding part of this dispatch was prepared, I have had the honour to receive and lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council your letter of the 21st of last month, reporting the further communication which you had received from the family of the late Fatesing and the result of your subsequent conferences with His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, who is said to have declared with great warmth that he would never consent in a case so vitally affecting the interests of his family to withdraw the clause in the nemnuk, which had given rise to these dissensions.

14. Recollecting however the assurances which were given by Captain Carnac to the family of the deceased Fatesing that attention would be paid to their future comfort and respectability, the Governor-in-Council does not see anything in your dispatch, which should induce him to withdraw that interest in their welfare, nor from endeavouring by friendly remonstrance, at least, to prevail on His Highness to accede to an act which would be so gratifying of this Government.

15. When the Governor-in-Council so fully approved of all the proceedings of Captain Carnac on the occasion of the demise of Fatesing and the succession of Sayajirao to the administration of affairs, he was not apprised that the sanction and guarantee of the British Government had been given to a formal acknowledging that Govindrao possessed no claim to the gadi, and he consequently concluded that the restrictive clause in the nemnuk had been introduced by His Highness Sayajirao, and not, as it now appears to have been, by Captain Carnac, who, though he avowed his determination not to uphold any pretensions to which the adoption of Govindrao might give to the gadi, was not called upon to demand a surrender of any rights he might have obtained, as a condition for affording a suitable provision for the family of the late Fatesing, which had been promised to them, unfettered by such condition, even before the admission of Sayaji into the Government had been decided upon.

Letter from the President to Sayajirao Gaikwad, 29th September, 1819.

It is with much concern I have heard of the uneasiness, which has been felt by Your Highness in consequence of the misunderstanding that has unfortunately taken place between Your Highness and the family of your late lamented brother, Fatesing—a circumstance which is the more to be regretted, as it has occurred at a time when harmony was so essential to your comfort under the severe affliction which you were mutually suffering for the loss of so valuable a relative; but I console myself with the hope that this suspension of friendly intercourse will prove to be only of temporary duration.

Governor's concern

When Your Highness was called to the administration of public affairs as the legitimate successor of your late brother, you received the most solemn assurances of the determination of the British Government to uphold the rights of Your Highness in preference to any other existing claimant. These assurances have since been repeated; and I cannot therefore bring myself to believe that Your Highness can entertain any serious apprehension from

pretensions which may be raised in favour of Govindrao, whose adoption as the child of your deceased brother was countenanced by Captain Carnac with the view only of inducing the widow to refrain from sacrificing herself on the funeral pile of her husband; and though urged by the family to pledge himself to countenance and support the adopted child, he repeatedly declared that he could recognise such adoption only as a domestic arrangement for the satisfaction of the widow and the late Fatesing's immediate family, and that the measure was acknowledged by him as in no shape interfering with the rights of the Gaikwad family, who by the demise of Fatesing had approximated the throne.

Under these declarations and the assurances of the support of the British Government Your Highness can hardly see the necessity of obtaining any securities from the widow and family of your deceased brother as a condition on which the provision, proposed to be made for them by Your Highness in communication with Captain Carnac for their support and maintenance in a manner suitable to their rank and respectability, could alone be granted. That provision, I have been led to believe, was promised to be made without any understanding on the part of the widow and family that it was to be coupled with any conditions connected with the adoption of Govindrao; and though I should not wish improperly to press Your Highness's compliance with their reasonable expectations, I feel myself bound by the respect, I entertain for the memory of your brother, and the interest which I must consequently feel in the welfare and comfort of his family, to express an anxious hope that Your Highness may be induced to withdraw the clause in the nemnuk, which has occasioned those unhappy dissensions.

1819 Baroda, 7th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 474)

James Williams to Francis Warden.

Explanation In explanation of the expression, contained in my letter of the 18th April last, that the British Government never would admit he had the smallest pretensions, meaning Govindrao, I request you will observe that it applied solely to the adoption; from which I then declared and still hold the same opinion that, considering the condition on which it was agreed to by the Gaikwad Government and by the British Resident, the boy Govindrao derived no title or claim to the throne. I never disputed his title as a third in the legitimate line of succession, although I have heard considerable doubts of that also.

The family of His late Highness are now assured both by Sayajirao and Captain Carnac of a suitable provision for their respectability and the exalted rank of His late Highness. But I cannot find that any agreement was made that His Highness should recognise the boy as the successor of Fatesing, and inheriting all his rights and titles; which it appears to have been the desire of the family and the object of the deputation of the karkum to Bombay to establish; and the insertion of the clause, objected to by them, in the nemnuk, is the only record in the archives of the Gaikwad State of the conditions

under which Govindrao was adopted; and was it to be withdrawn, it would leave room for the party to dispute the succession in the event of the demise of His Highness; and I therefore conclude that the introduction of this or some other clause of similar import must always have been in the contemplation of His Highness and Captain Carnac.

From motives of respect to the family of His late Highness and a due sense of the important services rendered by him in advancing the interests of the alliance, I have frequently in the way of friendly entreaty solicited His Highness Sayajirao to accede to the proposition of cancelling the objectionable clause, but I could never prevail upon His Highness to pay any attention to this suggestion.

My dispatch of the 21st of August will have put you in possession of His Highness's objections to this measure, and of the sentiments he entertains respecting the conduct of the family of Fatesing; and you will thence be able to judge how far I am likely to succeed in prevailing on His Highness to accede to the benevolent wishes of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. His Highness even refused his assent to the measure, I submitted for his consideration, of allowing the original document containing the objectionable clause to remain in the office of the fadnavis (accountant), and delivering to Govindrao merely a memorandum of its contents.

I shall take an early opportunity of delivering the letter of the Right Hon'ble the Governor to His Highness, and shall not fail to express myself in the terms directed by you.

In the 6th and 8th paragraph of your dispatch I am instructed to assure His Highness that the British Government only interfere to prevent a breach of good faith on the part of its representatives, who have failed to fulfil their engagements in respect to the pecuniary provision to the widow, which they had been led to expect unfettered by any condition of the nature before alluded to.

This is a very grave article of charge, and the word 'representatives' being used, I conclude alludes to Captain Carnac and myself. I should have felt extremely embarrassed in communicating the sentiments of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to His Highness upon this point, had I not been conscious of the inapplicability of it to either of us.

I cannot trace in the records, nor can I learn from any of the gentlemen of the Residency, who accompanied Captain Carnac on the occasion, that it was ever expressly stipulated that they were to receive a large provision for the adopted boy Govindrao and themselves, unfettered with any condition. They were told that they would receive a subsistence suitable to their dignity and adequate to their maintenance, in style corresponding with their rank; and they must have been perfectly aware of the custom of this Government, when grants are made, of expressing in the body of the document the cause of their being given; and they could not have expected that His Highness Sayajirao would omit to have placed on record a translation so important as the adoption of Govindrao by the widow of the late Prince.

I am inclined to think that His Highness Sayajirao will not be perfectly satisfied with the assurances, I am ordered to convey to him, of the determination of the British Government to adhere most strictly to its engagements with His Highness and to discourage every claim that may be asserted on the part of Govindrao to the succession, so adverse to the interests of His Highness and family, when he observes that I am also ordered to impress upon him the anxious wish of the British Government that he should remove the only check which exists to prevent Govindrao, on the demise of His Highness, from disputing the succession of his son, by cancelling the clause in nemnuk, which records the conditions of the adoption. His Highness's confidence has also been shaken by the misrepresentations and reports set on foot incidentally to the reception of the vakil at Bombay; and as the family of Fatesing have clearly shown that they do not admit that any terms were agreed to by the ladies, and that they have not relinquished their hope of seating the boy upon the gadi, it is perhaps too much to expect that His Highness will voluntarily accede to the wishes of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

I should have abstained from any communication with the family of the His late Highness, in obedience to your instructions; but I was yesterday visited by Daji Garud, a near relation of His late Highness, who appeared so well acquainted with everything, no doubt communicated by the vakil in Bombay, and pressed me so hard upon the subject, that I could not avoid entering upon the discussion with him. He went over the same ground as in former conversations, asserted the boy's right to the succession, and that the ladies were perfectly ignorant of any condition having been made at the time of the adoption; and he concluded by saying he had hoped an order would have come to His Highness Sayajirao to compel him to act properly. I told him, after I had seen His Highness, I should converse again with him; and after some further observations of no moment he took leave.

I have now the honour to transmit a copy and translate of the nemnuk, which I request you will lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

I shall hereafter report the result of my interview with His Highness Sayajirao.

Nemnuk written by His Highness Sayajirao.

Nemnuk Nemnuk: The late Fatesingrao Gaikwad's mother, namely Anpurnabai Gaikwad, the widows Lakshmibai, Radhabai and Anandibai, and Govindrao Gaikwad for their annual expenses so long as the ladies are living, to enjoy the nemnuk; on their demise the villages, etc., to be returned back to the sarkar. After the death of Fatesingrao Gaikwad, Radhabai, one of his widows, was intending to burn herself on his pile. To prevent the same, and to please her, it is agreed the adoption of Govindrao, on condition that he has no right to the state or gadi whatsoever; thus it has been agreed by the means of Captain Carnac, Resident, and in the presence of all the darakdars, etc., dated 1819: Rs. 70,240.

Being in all Rs. 70,420 with pagga and nemnuk villages; which, it is agreed, shall also be given the expenses of paga and others, to be made by you according to this nemnuk, and not more. Dated Baroda, 15th January, 1819.

The above was read to me in Darbar in the presence of H. H. Sayajirao Gaikwad; to which on the part of the British Government I hereby give every effect, in pursuance of the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay, in reference to the adoption of a son by the widow of His late Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad.

Baroda, 9th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 471)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I waited upon His Highness Sayajirao and delivered to him the letter from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. His Highness, having perused it, told me that he was deeply sensible of his obligations to the Company's Government and should willingly conform to their advice on all occasions; but this was a question of so great importance to him, that he did not think there was any cause for his altering his former opinion, but that on this subject he would talk further after the days of mourning had expired, when he would also reply at length and definitively to the letter of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Sayaji's views*

Baroda, 13th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 471)

1819

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

I request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that on the morning of the 10th instant I visited the palace at the invitation of Takhtabai, the widow of His late Highness Anandrao Gaikwad. After the usual expressions of condolence, she requested me to give her assurances of the support and protection of the British Government, at the same time observing that her departed husband had always been on the most friendly terms with my Government, with whom he had entered into an alliance, which had proved most beneficial to both parties. She said that her two sons, Balvantrao and Pilajirao, had now no one to rely upon for protection, except the representative of the British Government. I assured her that my Government would always feel a lively interest in her welfare as well as that of her sons, not only on her own account, but more particularly from the feelings of respect which we must ever entertain for the memory of His late Highness, who had proved so faithful and staunch an ally to the British interests in India; that I was confident His Highness Sayajirao would grant them an ample provision, suited to their exalted rank; and that, as long as they conducted themselves with due propriety, he would cherish and protect them. *Visits to Takhtabai*

On the 11th I received a message from the same lady requesting to give her a private interview, but being unable to attend myself I desired Captain Perkins, the commandant of the guards stationed in the town, to proceed to the palace, and requested

that Takhtabai would communicate to him whatever she might have to say, conceiving she would have no objection from the acquaintance that officer had with her; and I was not disappointed in this expectation, for she unreservedly disclosed her wishes to this Gentleman; and his report, which I have the honour to enclose, will show the nature of her expectations.

I desired Captain Perkins to inform her that I had been made acquainted with her wishes; that I was astonished a person of her sense and experience could for a moment suppose that I could listen to such preposterous assertions and pretension; that I recommended her, for her own sake, not to allow His Highness Sayajirao to come to a knowledge of them, as they would doubtless greatly irritate him against herself and children; that, if she did put her threats into execution, which I trusted she would not, she would be committing a most heinous crime; and that I conceived neither His Highness nor myself would be at all affected by it. That however she was at liberty to act, as she thought fit; and if such was her fixed determination, it was unnecessary my holding any further communication with her.

Takhtabai no doubt thought that by following the example of Radhabai, the widow of the late Fatesingrao, who after his death declared her intention of being a Sati, she could by threatening to destroy herself and her children, engage me to listen to her unreasonable expectations. As from various reasons I am fully convinced it never was the serious intention of Radhabai to devote herself to the flames, so am I equally certain that Takhtabai has not the remotest idea of doing any injury either to herself or her children, but that her threats are only made with the desire of exciting my compassion and as a plausible cover to unfounded pretensions on her part.

On the 13th Captain Perkins had again an interview with Takhtabai, and conveyed my sentiments to that lady. The enclosed report from that officer will show that her object was merely to ensure to herself a settlement. I shall, after communicating with His Highness Sayajirao on the subject, wait upon Takhtabai and deliver to her a memorandum of the nemnuk, which His Highness may think proper to grant, and request that she will remove to her own house, according to the promise made by her to Captain Perkins.

Letter from W. Perkin in charge of the guards to James Williams, dated Baroda, 12th October, 1819.

**Balwant-
rao's claims** Immediately upon my arrival at the palace, I was ushered into the small room, where you saw her {Takhtabai} the other day. She was now seated there; but soon after led me into a more spacious and pleasant apartment, and after a few crocodile tears she at once came to the subject of her late husband's decease, and the attending circumstances, and said with much emphasis that there was now no person in the world who cared anything about her, and that her sole trust and confidence was in you, to whom she looked to for every comfort and consolation under her present distress. I told her that I was certain you would do everything you could for her, and that the English Government would take care that a suitable provision was made for her and her

children's maintenance according to their high rank and situation in life. She then informed me that in the time of the late Govindrao Gaikwad a paper was written by some English Gentleman, (I suppose she must have meant Colonel Walker) and given to her late husband Anandrao, stating that, in the event of his death, his son Balvantrao should succeed him on the gadi. I asked her for the paper. She replied that she did not know where it was now, but that her late husband formerly had it in his possession. She said that it was on account of her son Balvantrao's youth that His late Highness Fatesing was appointed regent, and that she was the lawful wife of His late Highness Anandrao Gaikwad; and she trusted that after the above promise, he would be allowed by the English Government to succeed his late father on the masnad.

She, after this, urged her right and claim to the property, left by her late husband, in the most forcible and decided manner, saying that it was not captured, stolen or ill-gotten wealth, but what he had been saving for many years solely for the use of his wives and their families after his decease. She therefore looked up to you for justice; and she claimed it of you; and that, if the raj was taken from her son, she trusted that you her, protector and preserver, would see the property divided amongst his wives and their families according to the intention of her late husband.

But that, in the event of it being given up to His Highness Sayaji, she and the other three widows of the late Raja were determined to destroy themselves and their children. She at this time appeared very animated and much affected, so much so that I rose from my seat and was about taking my leave. She begged I would be seated, and she again said that you were her protector and preserver, and hoped you would act as you thought proper, being well assured that you would protect her from her oppressors. This is the substance and purport of the conversation that passed at our interview.

Letter from W. Perkins to J. Williams.

I have again had an interview with Her Highness Takhtabai, she *Another-* having since my last visit sent me frequent requests to meet her *visit* again; and I have now the pleasure of acquainting you with the result.

Upon my arrival at the palace, she received me in the same room as on my former visit. She appeared to be labouring under great distress of mind, crying very much, and being greatly agitated. As soon as she seemed to be a little pacified, I informed her that I had told you all that passed at our former meeting. She replied that she was glad of it, as it is from you alone that she expected to be treated in a manner suitable to her former rank and situation in life. But now what had she to live for? She wished to die, she had outlived her husband, the late Raja; and her eldest son Balvantrao was disinherited; that His Highness Sayajirao was now placed upon the masnad, and what behaviour had she to expect from him? He never was a friend of hers. I endeavoured to console her, and told her that you would take care that she and her family should have a handsome provision. This appeared to ease her mind a little.

I then said to her [*that*] you were very much surprised that a sensible woman, as she is, should talk in that strange unaccountable manner, as she did at our last meeting, about destroying herself and her children. She smiled at this, and without hesitation replied that it was nothing more but what she was determined to do, if the jamdarkhana was opened, and the property of her late husband carried away before a proper and suitable provision was made for herself and family, and given into her hands by you in writing. I answered that I would inform you of this, and I made no doubt of your readily acquiescing with her request. She replied immediately, if he does not, there is no other alternative, I will destroy myself and my children. At this expression she drew a hand across her throat and pointed to her little son Pilaji, who was sitting near her, and said she would serve him the same. The little boy understood what his mother said, and crying very much clung to her neck.

She seems now to have abandoned the idea she had formed at our last interview of her and the Raja's other wives having a decided claim to her late husband's property, and of her right and intentions of its amount being divided between them; for she begged I would inform you that, as soon as herself and family were suitably provided for, she and her family would leave the palace, as soon as you pleased; but that she would not stir from it, till this was done, and that you then might do as you pleased with the jamdarkhana. She said the fates were adverse to her, and she hoped she would soon die. She begged I would mention to you that, on the opening of the jamdarkhana, you would secure for her two trunks which her late husband placed there, containing her ornaments, etc. She had got a list of their contents. I told her it was your wish that everything reasonable should be done for her consolation and comfort. She thanked me and said she knew you were her friend. Nothing more passed, and I took my leave.

Letter from J. Henderson to J. Williams, dated Bombay, 1st November.

Blamed

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated the 9th and 13th of last month, with accompaniments, and to acquaint you that it will be impossible to enter into any consideration of the arrangements, necessary to be made by the Baroda Government for the support of the family of His Highness the late Anandrao Gaikwad, until the result of the late communications with His Highness Sayajirao be ascertained. Nor does the Governor-in-Council consider, after what has already passed, that it was consistent with discretion on your part to make yourself a party to any such pecuniary arrangements, since it would appear from your late interview with Sayajirao that His Highness is so little inclined to meet the wishes of this Government in respect to the provision for the family of his late brother, and may be equally indisposed to confirm any engagement which might be made by you with Takhatabai.

1819 Baroda, 20th October, 1819 (1819 P. D. 471)
Visit to
Sayaji James Williams to Francis Warden.

On the 16th I visited His Highness Sayajirao and informed him that Takhatabai had earnestly requested to see me, and that, provided

he had no objection, I intended after leaving him to proceed to the palace. His Highness said he had not the slightest [objection]; indeed he was very desirous that I should go, and he trusted that I would procure from her the jaripatka, choghadiyan, sikka khatar and gadi; and also that I would open the jamdarkhana and commence sending the contents to his house. I told His Highness that he must be well aware that Takhatabai would not give up any of these articles, unless a proper settlement was made for herself and children and the other widows of the late Raja; and that I thought the jamdarkhana ought not to be removed, until she had quitted the palace and returned to her own house; and I asked him, as he was so anxious about it, why did he not make the demand through his own Ministers; or why had not such a provision been made by him for the family, as would induce her quietly to give up what he required and proceed to her own residence. To this His Highness replied in a few words that she would not trust him, and requested me to go and make her promises and get the articles he desired. I told him that it was not the custom of the British Government to make promises they did not mean to keep; that I understood what he meant, and was surprised at his proposal; and that, unless he consented to abide by any settlement I should make with her, I would have nothing further to do with the affair. His Highness then said that was sufficient, and that he gave me full power to make what settlement I chose, and repeated his request that I would send the four articles of insignia of the State and the jamdarkhana. I told him I would engage to procure him the former, the latter I could not promise to do. I then took leave, and accompanied by Captain Perkins, who was present at this interview, proceeded to the palace.

On my arrival I was admitted into a small dark room adjoining to the place where the Raja died. Takhatabai was seated near the door. She was attended by Revabai, another of the Raja's widows, whose appearance was very prepossessing, a number of slave girls and three or four of her karkuns. After inquiring after her health and that of her children, I told her that Captain Perkins had made me acquainted with all her demands, that no doubt he had communicated to her my sentiments respecting them. She said he had, but that the object of her sending a request to me to visit her, was to discuss the matter personally.

She then entered upon a long detail of the first connection *Claims* with the Gaikwad State and of Colonel Walker's first arrival at Baroda, and dwelt at great length upon the extent of her influence and power at that period, and wished to impress upon me that it was exclusively owing to her that His Highness Anand Rao entered into the alliance with the British Government. She said the value of her services had been repeatedly acknowledged by both Mr. Duncan and Colonel Walker. The latter, she said, always consulted her on state affairs; and when he had any point to carry with the Raja, or wished his seal to be affixed to any paper, application was made to her, and she invariably exerted her influence to promote the views of the British Government; that she was the person who persuaded the Raja to admit into the councils of the State Babaji Appaji, whereby Colonel Walker

was enabled to carry into execution his reforms; that she was lawfully married to the late Raja. Her sons were legitimate and ought to succeed to the gadi, although I asserted (misled by designing people) that they had no claim; that she had heard in other parts of India the children of a Rajputni, regularly married, succeeded to the throne. She then said the reward of all her services and of the late Raja's attaching himself so firmly to the interests of the British Government was delivering them up to be plundered by His Highness Sayajirao.

In reply I admitted that she had great power and influence at the time she alluded to, but that I doubted much whether it was always directed to the advancement of the interests of the British Government or even to those of the Gaikwad; but there was no occasion to go into particulars; that I never disputed the legitimacy of her sons or the legality of her marriage with the late Raja; but I still maintained that, according to the custom observed in the Gaikwad State, her sons could not sit upon the gadi. That His Highness Sayajirao had no intention of confiscating her property; that, as long as she conducted herself with propriety, she would meet with the support of the British Government.

She then said she would not insist upon her son's claim to the gadi, but that he ought doubtless to succeed Sayajirao as mutalik. I told her that was equally inadmissible. She then said at least you will admit that my children have a right to the property of their father, which is contained in the jamdarkhana and must be divided amongst us all. It has been accumulated by the late Raja from the savings he made from that portion of the revenues which he received for his maintenance, and from the presents of friends and dependants; that no one ever heard of a Prince's jamdarkhana being considered the property of the State. I informed her that an accurate account would be taken of all the articles in the jamdarkhana; and whatever she could prove to belong to either herself and children or to any of the widows of the late Raja, would be given up to them. She then said, if I would be present at the opening of the treasury, she would remain satisfied. I told her a gentleman of my family should.

Agreement

I then reminded her that I had come at her special request to discuss the subject of the settlement she wished to be made for her; that all the points we had been now discoursing upon, had, I thought, been already agitated, and decided upon; and I requested her to mention what kind of provision she expected. She replied she knew nothing of the matter, she did not know what was necessary; that I was her enemy and was doing everything for Sayaji, and she would destroy herself; that in the plenitude of her power she could have ruined and plundered Sayaji's mother and Fatesing's, and who could have prevented her? but that she had not done so, and she did expect the same forbearance from them. I said there was no intention of acting in the way she mentioned, that these bursts of passion did not become her, and that I would not remain with her any longer, unless she became more moderate; and I rose to take my leave, when Revabai whispering something to her, she requested me to take my seat again and hear what she had to say. I complied, when she went

over the same subject and ended with nearly the same passionate expression. I then arose and went out, when one of her karkuns followed me and said he would talk with me regarding the nemnuk. We went into the quarters of the officer, who formerly commanded the Raja's guard; and sitting down, he produced a long paper of demands which, it appeared, Takhtabai and the other widows of the Raja and the karkuns had been employed drawing out.

The karkun read this paper while I translated it, and it proved to be a memorandum of the sums she expected for the maintenance of all the widows of the Raja, herself and sons, to the amount of 2,00,000 Rupees annually; although I had an authority from His Highness to make any agreement I thought proper, with her, I felt convinced I should find great difficulty in prevailing on His Highness to fulfill his engagement with me, when he became acquainted with the amount. I therefore sent for my munshi from the Residency; and from the information he had previously obtained and from closely questioning the karkuns, I was enabled to reduce this amount to the sum of 1,68,000 Rupees, which included an ample provision for all the widows and their children, and embraced almost every article of charge, and I conceived a liberal settlement. I sent this paper in with my munshi to Takhtabai, who, after remaining with her a considerable time, during which she discussed every article with great shrewdness and ability, returned with a request that I would make some small addition to two or three of the articles, and she would then do whatever I liked. As this only amounted to 6,000 Rupees, I did not hesitate; and the settlement was made at 1,74,000 Rupees annually. I then caused the karkun to write out the paper in Marathi, to which he subjoined at her request an assurance that I would see it carried into effect; and we returned to Takhtabai's apartment, where I signed the paper and delivered it to her. She then requested my hand as a pledge that I was her friend, which I gave her.

I then requested she would deliver the four articles I had before mentioned to Captain Perkins, who would send them to His Highness Sayajirao's house. She said everything should be given up, but there was no jaripatka, belonging to the State; that it was always kept with the huzurat paga, and when His Highness Fatesing died, Sayajirao took possession of it; that the one with the paga was a small one and private property. Some conversation ensued on other topics, and I took leave. On my departure I met a confidential servant of Sayaji's who said he desired the sword of the late Raja to be sent him, which I requested might be done.

When I left the palace, Captain Perkins sent to His Highness the gadi and sword, and discovered that Takhtabai had deceived me respecting the flag, which he found in the paga, and informed her of it, and asked her how she could tell me there was no flag. She did not deign to give him any reply, nor would she allow one of the elephants to carry the articles, and two were sent by His Highness, on which the great drum and the standard were fastened. Takhtabai would not permit the bargirs to accompany the standard, and Sayaji sent about fourteen of his, and she expressed her displeasure at so

Deception

many being sent. The bargirs of the late Raja's paga said at first, unless they were paid up on the spot five months' arrears, they would not give up the flag, but by the firmness and good conduct of Captain Perkins they were induced to give it up peaceably on his promising to represent the matter to me.

The provision, I have assured Takhatabai, shall be granted her, cannot be thought too large. I considered it incumbent upon me as the British representative at this Court, when His Highness vested me with the authority he did, to make the provision on the most liberal scale, consistent with a due regard to the finances of this State. As His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad was the Prince with whom our alliance with the Gaikwad State was concluded, and as he had on all occasions proved himself a faithful ally, and personally had always shown the utmost regard and respect to the British representative at his capital, which other branches of the Gaikwad family, not excepting His late Highness Fatesing and the present Raja Sayajirao, have sometimes failed in observing; and considering [that] the alliance has materially added to the resources of the British Government, and bearing in mind the veneration in which the late Raja was held by the people of the country, who looked upon him as a man peculiarly favoured by the Deity, this ample maintenance for his family is calculated to give universal satisfaction. The provision of course is larger than that for the family of the late Fatesing, as it provides for many more individuals; and the sons of the Raja, although not eligible to the succession, are legitimate and of course entitled to a handsome maintenance.

9. During all these discussion I have been disgusted with the extreme want of delicacy and feeling evinced by His Highness and his mother in demanding articles, which, though the family attach value to them, are intrinsically of none. One instance will suffice out of a hundred, which have occurred with His late Highness Fatesing's family and those of the late Raja's. When the gadi was sent to Sayaji, it was observed that only one pillow came. The other was demanded. It was replied that the Raja's head was lying on it, when he expired; and that it was soiled, and it could not be of much use, and that the family wished much to keep it. The surrender of the pillow would nevertheless have been insisted on, had it not been intimated to His Highness that I conceived the demand equally unfeeling and indelicate.

I perfectly agree with Captain Carnac in his report to Government, dated 18th August, 1818; wherein he describes Sayaji as desirous of power, imperious and fond of pomp and parade; but I cannot assent to his investiture of him with energy of character, and severity of disposition, and a desire to become acquainted with the interests of his government. I have, for the last six months had frequent occasion personally and privately to converse with him, besides the usual official communications; and I ever found him attentive enough to his own interests, but decidedly indifferent to any which I proposed for the welfare of his government, which did not affect his immediate interests. I have found him abundantly willing to depress and curtail the emoluments of the

Sayaji's
character

Ministers, not from any conviction of their influence obstructing the measures of Government, but with the selfish desire of accumulating wealth by despoiling them. He appears to be ambitious of power for no other object than to enrich himself. He cares not for the prosperity of his country or the happiness of his subjects. He is fond of pomp and parade, and at the same time inclined to avarice. His disposition to severity is corrected by his extreme timidity of character. He has been from his infancy under the control of his mother Gahenabai, whose temper is violent in the extreme. He was till the death of his brother, Fatesing, comparatively in obscurity. I do not recollect ever having seen him, except on some grand festival. His allowance was always limited; and from having been so long accustomed to the control of his mother, he may probably find it difficult to emancipate himself; and he is evidently in awe of her, and I know that all my communications with him are reported to her. It is to be hoped, as he increases in years, he will become more confident in himself. He neither smokes; nor, as most of the people do here, does he take intoxicating drugs or liquors; but then he neither hunts, nor goes on sporting excursions, nor is he fond of riding, and he certainly does not apply himself to study, or seriously to the affairs of his government, beyond the usual routine of holding a Darbar every morning for two or three hours.

11. I shall desire Captain Perkins to be present at the opening of the jamdarkhana to satisfy Takhatabai and His Highness, who made the same request, as they have evidently no trust in each other. However we may regret the want of morality and sound principle among these people, it is a proud and consoling reflection that the British character stands so high in the estimation of the natives of this country, evinced by this involuntary (if I may so call it) expression of their confidence in our individual integrity, which is not made in a spirit of flattering and adulation, but has been extorted from them by the necessity, they are under, of making this shameless and public avowal of their want of faith in the honour and probity of each other. *British character*

On the 19th, I had an interview with His Highness Sayajirao, at which he stated his surprise at my having given Takhatabai a writing, and assured her of so large a provision, and attempted to deny ever having requested me to make her any settlement, and said he had only asked me to give her verbal assurances, in general terms, of a provision being made her. As His Highness observed so little sense of propriety in this address, I thought it right to tell him in a manner equally plain that he was well aware that the only motive for his requesting me to go to Takhatabai and settle the business was that she would not trust him, and that he himself was afraid to go; that, had he only given me authority to make verbal assurances, I should never have accepted the commission; that other people were present at the time and heard what His Highness said. I further observed that I even thought the nemruk too small, and that my Government would probably be of the same opinion, when they took all circumstances into consideration. His Highness then replied that I was no doubt right; *Plain speaking*

and might do as I pleased; and that he must agree to it. I told him that he need not, unless he liked; but then Takhtabai would claim a share in the jamdarkhana. He then told me he intended to set guards upon the paga and elephants of His late Highness. I represented to him the indelicacy and inutility of this measure. It would only exasperate Takhtabai without answering any good end; that, if he did, I would not interfere any further between them, that I had only become an arbitrator at the special request of both parties.

His Highness still going over the same ground, and regretting the largeness of the sum, and asserting that their allowance would exceed his, I told him that, although in the Gaikwad State it had not yet occurred that the legitimate offspring of a Rajputni ascended the gadi, yet in other Maratha countries it was not stated to be an impediment; and that I conceived that they ought to be most amply provided for on account of their birth and out of respect for the late Raja; that he was now the head of a flourishing Government and ought to consider his own character and good name in making the provision.

His Highness's ideas are too mercantile to allow him to do anything in a princely way, and he will no doubt endeavour by many wretched devices to induce Takhtabai to give up the paper, or me to break my engagement with her. He is certainly of a sordid and avaricious disposition; and it may perhaps be this debasing feature in His Highness's character, which has given rise to reports affecting the purity of his descent.

Letter from Francis Warden to J. Williams.

Approval I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 20th ultimo with its accompaniments, in continuation of your proceedings relative to the provision for the family of His Highness the late Raja.

The Governor-in-Council has perused with regret the observation which you have drawn of His Highness Sayajirao in that dispatch, which he cannot but consider as extremely unpromising, and as showing how little dependence can be placed on his honour and integrity in our future transactions with His Highness, and the difficulties to which we are likely to be exposed in preserving our connexion with the Baroda State, whilst the person at its head is capable of acting a part so disgraceful as he appears to have done in the case now under consideration.

After the conduct, which His Highness has manifested towards Takhtabai, the Governor-in-Council is not surprised at his proceedings in respect to the provision for the widow and family of his late brother, Fatesing, of his final determination in respect to which you have not however yet apprised this Government.

It could have been wished, after what had already passed on the latter subject, that you had refrained from interfering again in any of the domestic arrangements of the Gaikwad family, at least, until the

assurances given by Captain Carnac had been fulfilled. But you have also given the Hon'ble Company's bhandari that the allowance shall be settled on the family of the late Raja. The engagement must be held binding.

You are therefore instructed to call on His Highness to fulfil the engagement made under his authority with Takhtabai, and he may with equal propriety be reminded of the situation of the family of the late Fatesing, who are fully as much entitled to his favourable consideration without requiring the insertion of the condition annexed to the nemnuk.

Bombay, 17th January, 1820 (1820 P. D. 471)

1820

Elphinstone to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

4. With regard to the provisions made to the family of Fatesing *Provisions* and Takhtabai, the decision of the Governor-in-Council must be founded on the nature of the engagements entered into by the Resident with the parties, the tenor of which should be carried into execution.

5. By the verbal agreement to which the Resident pledged himself, with the view of preventing the widow of Fatesing becoming a sati, the family obtained permission to adopt a child, and a promise of the protection of the British Resident in securing their comfort and responsibility. In return they engaged to renounce all claims to the masnad, founded on that adoption. The adoption was immediately completed and is no longer a subject for negotiation; but the family are now desirous that the stipulations regarding their future situation should be fixed with precision and reduced to writing. Sayajirao is naturally equally anxious to give the same stability to the part of the agreement that secures his interests, and on which his title to the Government essentially depends, but it would seem that Sayaji's demand [goes] the length [not only] of entirely barring the claim of the son Govindrao, founded on the adoption, but also of setting aside his right derived from his natural relationship to Anandrao Gaikwad.

6. These objections and pretensions may be removed and reconciled by altering the [wording of] the engagement proposed by Sayajirao, so as to make it a renunciation of all claims acquired by the adoption, with an express reservation of those derived from the birth of the adopted boy, whose place in the order of successors (if not a disputed point) might be inserted in the engagement; such a renunciation being made, Sayaji ought to acknowledge the adoption in the fullest manner and agree to the allowance recommended by the Resident.

7. This modified clause need not be inserted in the agreement, if Sayajirao should prefer omitting the subject altogether.

8. The piece of ordinance now held by the widow of Fatesing should be given up as inconsistent with the situation of a private person.

9. Should the widow refuse to [agree] to these terms, you will explicitly inform her that Captain Carnac's promise was annulled by

her uncompliance with her part of the conditions, and that she must henceforward depend on the bounty of Sayaji.

10. The engagement to Takhtabai, involving no condition, except that for the surrender of the insignia, which has been already fulfilled, must be enforced [by the] Gaikwad [however unpalatable] it may be to Sayaji.

11. With regard to the treasure, its disposal involves a variety of considerations, in which the Governor-in-Council is not prepared to pass a definitive decision. The first question is whether it is to be received as the private property of Anandrao, or as the property of the State. In the instance of most Asiatic Princes there could be no doubt but that it would belong to the latter. But the inferior Maratha Chiefs always affect to consider their territories as feudal benefices, not as dominions of their own, and in consequence they might assign as private property the money saved from the proceeds of their estates. This probably may not be the case with the Gaikwad family, for in the old agreements between the Gaikwad and the Peshwas the latter often appear as donates for the younger branches of the Gaikwad family, but their pretensions were always inspired to a suitable provision and never intended to a demand for a share of the treasures of their ancestors. This point however the Governor-in-Council is desirous that you should ascertain by inquiring into the practice in that respect at Baroda.

12. The next question that presents itself is whether, if the treasure be public property, the Governor-in-Council has a right to insist in its being applied, to the payment of the Gaikwad's debt. Of the right there can be no doubt, but the policy of the measure is extremely questionable.

13. If the Gaikwad were not unwilling to apply part of the treasure to the liquidation of his debts, if the necessity for immediate payment were urgent, that fund is to be so applied; but in the present state of things the Governor-in-Council questions the policy of incurring the odium of compelling Sayaji to give up these treasures, which Anandrao was allowed to hoard, for the sake of procuring a settlement with the bankers a year or two sooner than would otherwise be the case.

14. But whether a portion of the treasures [is] the right of the younger branches of the family or of the public credit, it is observed that it [ought] to be obtained by application to the representative of the Gaikwad State, and not by seizing in it of our own authority. Your conduct therefore in allowing the treasures to remain with Sayaji was perfectly proper and judicious; and they should continue in his custody, subject to every claim that may be brought against them, founded on the result of the inquiry directed to be instructed.

1820 Baroda, 31st January, 1820 (1820, P. D. 478)

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Sayaji's
change of
mind
In the evening of the 26th I received a message by one of His Highness's confidential servants, desiring that I would meet him at

sunset at a garden a short distance from town, and that I would come alone. On my arrival I found His Highness had preceded me. He immediately entered upon the subject of Takhatabai's allowance and Fatesing's family, and the jamdarkhana. I informed His Highness that the agreement, entered into by me with Takhatabai, must stand good; on which he said it was proper that it should, that I had only concluded the agreement by his desire, and that he would direct the sanads to be immediately issued.

This appeared so extraordinary to me after the discussion I had with His Highness on this subject, previous to my quitting Baroda, that I could not avoid remarking this change in his opinion to His Highness, who said that he was at the time misled by the artifices of interested people, and he was advised to give me the answer he did; but that he regretted it much afterwards, and that he had sent many messages to me before I left Baroda to that effect. I told His Highness I had never received any, save those from Doctor Kemball and Captain Perkins, subsequently to my arrival in Bombay. He replied that the same influence, which perverted his meaning and misrepresented him to me, was exerted to have personal communications suppressed; but that he now trusted I would think no more of what had passed, and begged me to give him an assurance that I would on all occasions personally communicate with him, and not allow myself to be prejudiced against him by the reports of interested persons; but, if I was told of any improper conduct of his, that I would call upon him and give him an opportunity of defending himself. I assured him that nothing would give me more pleasure.

His Highness then said there were some points on which he desired my advice. His expressions were; he had two or three eggs in his belly, which with my assistance might be got rid of; that it was late, and he would tell me the next evening; on this I took leave. The next day I went to the garden, where I found His Highness waiting my arrival; when he said, as Takhatabai's affair was decided, he wished to know what was to be done respecting Fatesing's family. I communicated to him the instructions of Government upon that point, with which he was well satisfied, but remarked that the boy's right, derived from his natural relationship to Anandrao, had never been disputed by any one, and he saw no use in altering the present nemnuk, which said nothing about that, but only referred to the adoption not giving Govindrao any right or title to the gadi, that all parties know that, and this paper was drawn out under the inspection of Captain Carnac, and had his signature to it. He desired that it might not be altered, and he was ready to give the sanad to the family, whenever, they chose to accept it.

With respect to the jamdarkhana, I told him that the Hon'ble the Governor had not yet come to a decision on the question, and requested that he would still allow the jamdarkhana to remain as heretofore. His Highness agreed not to make use of any of it, but said he should remove it to his own house, as it was not safe in its present situation. I told him I had no objection to this, provided he would keep it as a deposit till the result of an inquiry

now pending; which he assured me that he would, but that I should find that the whole of it belonged to the State, i. e. to the reigning Prince.

1820 *Baroda, 2nd February, 1820 (1820, P. D. 479)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Fatesing's family 3. Regarding the family of His late Highness Fatesing, the stipulation for the provision, to be made to them by this Government, has long since been committed to writing, formed on a scale suited to the rank of the parties concerned, and with a due consideration to the character of their deceased relation.

4. Through the mediation of Captain Carnac a paper, entitled a *nemuuk* to the family of the late Fatesingrao Gaikwad, was drawn out, granting an adequate allowance to the mother and widow of the deceased as well as to the adopted son, Govindrao; in which it is briefly stated that Radhabai, the widow of Fatesing Gaikwad, evincing a desire at his death to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, permission was granted to the adoption of Govindrao to prevent her carrying her threats into execution, upon condition that such adoption gave him no claim to the gadi.

5. This is the paper which the family have refused under various pleas, advanced at different times, to accept. At first they insisted that the adoption was made without any conditions whatever, which interpretation they afterwards retracted, admitting that there were some.

6. After this confession had been extorted from them, they refused to accept it, unless the words 'Govindrao Bin Fatesing' were inserted, to which they seem to attach an importance calculated to excite a suspicion that upon it they intend to advance claims to the boy's right of succession to the gadi beyond that which he possesses by hereditary right.

7. His Highness Sayajirao strongly objects to the insertion of those words, in as much as he says that they imply that the boy, as the adopted son of Fatesing, according to the Hindu Law, succeeds to all this rights and to the *masnad*; and on these grounds he has repeatedly declared his determination never to consent to alter the original agreement drawn up at the request and in the presence of Captain Carnac.

9. The right Govindrao derives to succession to the gadi from his natural relationship to Anandrao Gaikwad has never been disputed by His Highness, as however the direct order of his succession has not been, I consider, correctly stated by Captain Carnac. I beg leave to observe that, as Govindrao has an elder brother, named Gopalrao, who is now living in Baroda, and for the setting aside of whose claims I can discover no existing cause, this removes him to step further back than is stated by Captain Carnac.

10. I have communicated both with His Highness and with the members of the late Fatesing's family on the subject of the disputes; and from the manner, in which the communication was received by

both parties. I trust that in a few days I should be able to report that a final settlement has been concluded.

11. The sanad for the provision of Takhtabai and her family is preparing; and His Highness now declares that he never intended to deny giving his consent to my making whatever settlement I thought proper their future provision.

12. From information, resulting from the inquiries I have set on foot, relative to what the practice has been at Baroda with regard to the disposal of the jamdarkhana, I am induced to consider that it has always become the property of the State and at the disposal of the Prince succeeding. *Jamdar-khana*

13. To prove this it will be necessary to give a brief of the history of the Gaikwad family from their first establishment in the province of Gujarat.

14. Pilajirao Gaikwad laid the foundation of the authority of the Gaikwad family in the province of Gujarat. At first he levied chauth and sardeshmukhi or about 35 per cent. upon the revenue, but before his death he had increased his portion to one half of the whole.

15. Much money however was not amassed during his reign, as the authority of the family at that time was not firmly fixed; and like *[in the case of]* all newly established governments the receipts were far less than the expense.

16. Damajirao succeeded Pilaji; and though he added much to the strength and stability of the Gaikwad power, yet he left little or no treasure behind him, which was all expended during his time in keeping on foot a large army to overawe his turbulent subjects, in remitting a stipulated nazranah to the Peshwa, in the expense of a body of horse serving at Poona. It was in this Prince's reign that the partition of the province of Gujarat took place.

17. He was succeeded by Fatesing the Great, during whose reign internal divisions amongst the different members of the Peshwa's family took place, which was an opportunity too great to admit of this politic Prince allowing to escape him to benefit himself and his government from.

18. Accordingly we find him collecting a much larger portion of the revenues than was his due, at the same time remitting only a part of the stipulated nazranah; and in this manner he is said to have amassed during his reign upwards of 15 crores of treasure in money and value.

19. On his death a struggle took place for the succession to the gadi between Manajirao, the legal heir, and a faction formed by Jadhav Bhaskar, his Minister, who endeavoured to place on the gadi a boy of the name of Krishnarao. The former however in the end succeeded in obtaining his hereditary rights.

20. During the struggle a great part of the treasure of Fatesing was carried off, and Manaji could only obtain between two and three

up to 1,000 Rupees per month, which would enable him to maintain a befitting degree of respectability of appearance, and make it his interest to be honest; which is our best security for his good conduct. It shall not lose sight of the wishes of Government respecting the retirement of Dhakji Dadaji. I do not conceive that His Highness will make any objection to our affording him our guarantee, as in the sanad, granting him his allowance and villages, he says that to this the English Government give their bhandari.

Letter from Francis Warden, dated 4th March, 1820, to J. Williams.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of *Approval* the 2nd of last month, reporting your proceedings in execution of the instructions conveyed in my letter to you of the 17th of January.

2. I am directed to express to you the satisfaction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council at the acquiescence of His Highness Sayajirao in the agreement entered into by you for the purpose of securing a provision for Takhatbai and her family.

3. The prospect of an amicable adjustment of the disputes with Fatesing family is no less satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

4. You will be pleased to transmit copies and translation of the writings, alluded to in the 3rd, 4th and 5th paragraphs of your dispatch, relative to the arrangement and pension made for this family, as accompaniments to the report of the final settlement promised in the 10th paragraph of your dispatch.

5. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council deems it proper to withhold his decision in the question affecting the disposal of the treasure, until he is in possession of the reports of the Residents at the other Maratha Courts, to whom reference has been made on the subject, but particularly until Sayajirao shall have completed the grant of a provision for Takhatbai and her family.

6. The Governor-in-Council is desirous of being furnished also with a copy of the sanad granting to Dhakji Dadaji the allowances and villages, to which you state in the concluding part of the 28th paragraph, that the English Government have given their bhandari.

7. The salary proposed to be given to the Native Agent has the sanction of the Governor-in-Council.

8. In communicating the consent to the proposed augmentation I have to observe that, although it is deemed expedient to allow to that person a rate of pay commensurate to that trust reposed in him, especially in the inspection of the Gaikwad's accounts and in the supervision of the pecuniary arrangements with the bankers, yet it is by no means the intention of the Governor-in-Council to increase his duties or responsibility even in those departments; on the contrary the Governor-in-Council relies entirely on your own vigilance and attention for the success of the arrangements connected with the Gaikwad's debt; he especially trusts that you will use every exertion to retain the conduct of all the political business of the Residency in our own hands and exclusively under your own management.

crores of Rupees, from which he sent one crore as a nazranah to the Peshwa.

21. At his death, Govindrao became the legal successor; but being at that time in the Deccan, this circumstance afforded an opportunity to Sayajirao, an elder brother (who was set aside on account of the feebleness of his mind) to pillage the jamdarkhana of Manaji to the amount of near 50 lakhs of Rupees.

22. Govindrao however, on his arrival, recovered a part of the treasure, which had been carried off by his brother, as well as between 40 to 50 lakhs which still remained in the treasury of Manaji. From this he remitted about 45 lakhs to the Peshwa, and the remainder he removed into the house of his wife Gahenabai.

23. Upon the decease of the late Raja Anandrao Gaikwad, who succeeded Govindrao, the rebellion of Kanhoji occurred, during which a part of the treasure deposited in the house of Gahenabai was obtained by the rebels. The rebellion however having been suppressed, a small proportion was again recovered by Anandrao.

24. A short time after his accession Anandrao set up his standard in the Baroda pargana, and levied from the patels and ryots a lakh of Rupees as a nazranah, which he deposited in his treasury.

25. From this account the Hon'ble the Governor will perceive that the jamdarkhana has always been considered as property devolving to the State and applied to public purposes. It does not appear ever to have been divided among the relations of the family, nor do they seem ever to have made any claim upon it.

26. His Highness has promised to retain the treasure in deposit until the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is made known; but at the same time he asserts that no one save himself has any claim or title to it.

Native Agent 27. With respect to the appointment of a Native Agent, it is most probable that Dhakji Dadaji may consider it as destructive of his influence; and it necessarily must in some degree have that tendency; but how far that may have the effect of inducing him to resign, I am not prepared to say. His Highness Sayajirao will of course be naturally jealous of the appointment of another Native Agent, as he will conceive that our Government intended to exercise the same unlimited control over his affairs, which they had continued to do till within these few months. I conceive that (*that the Native Agent should receive not*) a less salary than 600 Rupees per mensem, and a palanquin allowance and jeli or attendants, say 200 more in all, as it should be one of sufficient attractions to make the person, holding it, careful how he lays himself open to the chance of losing it by any improper conduct. It is one in which he will be exposed to great temptation; and as he is to be debarred the advantages enjoyed by former Native Agents, and will be liable to some expense, the Hon'ble the Governor may concur that the salary should be more than the sum specified by me, and that the whole might be made

up to 1,000 Rupees per month, which would enable him to maintain a befitting degree of respectability of appearance, and make it his interest to be honest; which is our best security for his good conduct. I shall not lose sight of the wishes of Government respecting the retirement of Dhakji Dadaji. I do not conceive that His Highness will make any objection to our affording him our guarantee, as in the sanad, granting him his allowance and villages, he says that to this the English Government give their bhandari.

Letter from Francis Warden, dated 4th March, 1820, to J. Williams.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of *Approval* the 2nd of last month, reporting your proceedings in execution of the instructions conveyed in my letter to you of the 17th of January.

2. I am directed to express to you the satisfaction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council at the acquiescence of His Highness Sayajirao in the agreement entered into by you for the purpose of securing a provision for Takhtabai and her family.

3. The prospect of an amicable adjustment of the disputes with Fatesing family is no less satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

4. You will be pleased to transmit copies and translation of the writings, alluded to in the 3rd, 4th and 5th paragraphs of your dispatch, relative to the arrangement and pension made for this family, as accompaniments to the report of the final settlement promised in the 10th paragraph of your dispatch.

5. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council deems it proper to withhold his decision in the question affecting the disposal of the treasure, until he is in possession of the reports of the Residents at the other Maratha Courts, to whom reference has been made on the subject, but particularly until Sayajirao shall have completed the grant of a provision for Takhtabai and her family.

6. The Governor-in-Council is desirous of being furnished also with a copy of the sanad granting to Dhakji Dadaji the allowances and villages, to which you state in the concluding part of the 28th paragraph, that the English Government have given their bhandari.

7. The salary proposed to be given to the Native Agent has the sanction of the Governor-in-Council.

8. In communicating the consent to the proposed augmentation, I have to observe that, although it is deemed expedient to allow to that person a rate of pay commensurate to that trust reposed in him, especially in the inspection of the Gaikwad's accounts and in the supervision of the pecuniary arrangements with the bankers, yet it is by no means the intention of the Governor-in-Council to increase his duties or responsibility even in those departments; on the contrary the Governor-in-Council relies entirely on your own vigilance and attention for the success of the arrangements connected with the Gaikwad's debt; he especially trusts that you will use every exertion to retain the conduct of all the political business of the Residency in our own hands and exclusively under your own management.

1820 *Baroda, 28th February, 1820 (1820 P. D. 480)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Friendly visit I request you will acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor that His Highness Sayajirao having expressed a desire to visit the Residency for the purpose, as he said, of showing to the public that no difference exists between us, alluding to what had passed on the question of Takhtabai's settlement, and to give him consequence in the eyes of his people, on the morning of the 17th instant I sent an invitation to His Highness, who came attended by the Ministers and officers of the Government and such of his relations as were at Baroda.

I took this opportunity of presenting an elephant and some jewels to His Highness and, as is customary on such occasions, presented clothes to his relations and the Ministers. His Highness expressed himself as highly gratified by the attention which had been paid him, which, he said, gave him great confidence and satisfied him that all expressions of a nature prejudicial to his character, which the discussions respecting Takhtabai's allowance might have led me to entertain, had been obliterated; and he trusted that from this day no subject of difference would occur. I replied in suitable terms, and His Highness took leave. At the present crisis I conceived this public mark of attention on my part to be called for, and I trust I shall be honoured with the approbation of Government.

Minutes, Bombay, 9th March.

Approval Ordered that the receipt of the preceding dispatch, reporting that result of a visit to the Residency by His Highness Sayajirao, be acknowledged, and the approbation of the Governor-in-Council conveyed to Mr. Williams on his having presented an elephant and some jewels to His Highness on the occasion.

1820 *Baroda, 3rd April, 1820.*

Mountstuart Elphinstone to Sayajirao Gaikwad.

Decision On the death of the last Fatesingrao Gaikwad, for the purposes of quieting the minds of his wives and family it was agreed by Captain Carnae, Resident at Baroda, that a child should be adopted, but that the said child should have no claim whatever to the Government; and it was agreed under the guarantee of the British Government that the family should receive a provision from the Gaikwad Government; but, as they now refuse to abide by these arrangements, the guarantee promised by the Resident is hereby annulled. [Taken from *R. Wallace, The Guicowar.*]

1820 *Bombay, 18th April, 1820 (1820, P. D. 483)*

Elphinstone's minute on his proceedings at Baroda.

Other points 27. There are a few points not immediately connected, with the general settlement of the Gaikwad's Government, which I have reserved to mention separately.

Treasure 28. I found Sayajirao very anxious to obtain possession of the treasure of Anandrao; and as he had agreed to the provision promised

to Takhatabai, there was no longer any reason for withholding it. I therefore requested him to take possession, and deputed Captain Ballantine at the same time to take an inventory of the whole property, to call on Takhatabai for a list of such property as she considered to belong to her, explaining to her that everything which she could prove to be her own, should be restored to her. Takhatabai at first said it was all her own, being the savings of Anandrao out of his personal allowance, and that she would die rather than permit any of it to be removed. Finding this made no alteration in the decision announced to her, she afterwards gave her consent to the removal of the treasure, but the door of the treasury was now beset by some troops, formerly in the immediate service of the late Fatesing, who refused to allow it to be removed until their arrears were settled. Their clamours were at length quieted by Captain Ballantine, who showed great temper and firmness as well in his transactions with them as in those with Takhatabai; and an inventory was made out by the Gaikwad minister and the Bai's agents; many articles were recognised to be part of the jewels belonging to Manaji Gaikwad, the fourth Prince, counting back from Sayaji; which is sufficient to disprove the assertion that the whole was collected by Anandrao. Takhatabai having furnished a list of the property she claimed, and Sayaji having promised to restore it, if proved to be hers, the treasure was made over to his officers and removed to his palace.

29. I may observe that Balvantrao, the son of Anandrao by *Balvantrao* Takhatabai, showed a disposition on several occasions to make himself appear independent of Sayaji, absenting himself from that Prince's public interview with me, though sent for, wishing to visit me separately, and without Sayaji's leave, and inviting me to an entertainment at his own house in the same manner as had been done by the Raja. These attempts I decidedly discouraged, but otherwise treated Balvantrao with attention.

30. The settlement with the family of Fatesing was mentioned at *Fatesing's* my first interview. On this head Sayaji showed considerable anxiety *family* and impatience for a decision, a feeling which the circumstances of the case rendered very natural.

31. The widow of his elder brother had been permitted by the *Adopted* British Government to adopt a son on the express condition of that *son's right* son renouncing all right to the masnad, derived from such adoption. Without this renunciation, the adoption would have given to the adopted son an undoubted right to succeed to the masnad in preference to Sayaji himself. The adoption had been completed, but no written acknowledgment of the condition had yet been obtained from the relations of the adopted son. They were therefore at liberty to say, and actually did say that they had never heard of the condition, and that they conceived the adopted son to have succeeded to all the rights of his deceased father. To guard against such a pretension, a paper had been drawn up and signed by Carnac (who, as the person who permitted the adoption, must best have known the terms on which permission was granted), by which the relations of the adopted son renounced all title derived from the adoption to succeed to the

masnad. This paper the family refused to recognise, and the British Government solicited His Highness to acquiesce in the refusal. This proceedings obviously threw considerable doubt over Sayaji's title to the masnad. The mere omission of so important a part of the agreement in the written instrument could not but give rise to doubts; but striking it out after it had been inserted by the Gaikwad and signed by the Resident, amounted to a virtual abandonment of the condition which it contained, and left the adopted son possession of all his rights, as much as if the renunciation had never been mentioned. It is true that the Resident was authorised to assure Sayaji that the British Government considered the adopted son to have renounced his title, and that Sayaji from his confidence in our power and good faith might feel secure that the claim of the adopted son was not likely ever to operate to his own exclusion from the masnad; but he could not fail to be conscious of the defect in his title, and to be apprehensive of the advantage that might be taken of it under any future change of circumstances. It therefore seemed to me essential towards securing Sayaji's right, that the family of Fatesing should on the part of the adopted son recognise in the most unequivocal manner the paper which had been signed by Captain Carnac, and I was happy in being able to effect this without inconsistency with the orders of the late Government, as this is the course which Government had directed to be adopted in case any decided opposition were offered by Sayaji to the other plan which it had proposed. I therefore communicated to the family of Fatesing the view I had taken of the subject, and I had several interviews with Dadaji Garud, the brother of Fatesing's wife. Captain Ballentine likewise had several interviews with the ladies themselves. Throughout the whole of these meetings they maintained the right of the adopted child to succeed to Fatesing's rights in preference to Sayaji. They quoted numerous examples of successions to governments transmitted by adoption, and appealed to me whether I had ever heard of an imperfect or conditional adoption like that now proposed. Dadaji Garud receded from this high ground so far as to allow Sayaji to govern during his lifetime, but insisted on the boy's recovering his rights on Sayaji's demise. On my alluding to the condition, annexed by Captain Carnac to the adoption, Dadaji Garud denied that the ladies had ever heard of it, or that they would ever have consented to it if they had heard of it. To this I replied that Captain Carnac could have given his consent on no other terms; and that if he had agreed to an adoption, which should supersede Sayaji's right, it could never have been confirmed either by the Gaikwad or the British Government.

32. The wife of Fatesing, on this, renewed her threats of putting an end to her life; but, as this could not influence me to allow Sayaji's succession to be disputed, she next talked of following me to Bombay, and never quitting me till her object was gained. On my repeatedly explaining that a refusal to perform the condition, annexed by Captain Carnac to our guarantee, destroyed the guarantee itself, the rest of the family gave up the boy's claims and agreed to accept an allowance on the proposed terms, but the mother of the boy

adhered to the last to her refusal of consent to the renunciation of all claim from the adoption, and in consequence I formally announced to Sayaji in writing that our guarantee was at an end. I at the same time recommended him to give to each member of the family separately the allowance originally proposed for that individual, on his or her admitting that the adoption gave the boy no title to the masnad.

33. It is to be observed that the family of Fatesing during the whole of this discussion never showed the least anxiety about the right of the adopted boy to succeed by his birth independent of the adoption; and when it was mentioned to them by Captain Ballantine, they paid no attention to it, but recurred to their former demands. Sayaji on the other hand insisted that this natural right was destroyed by the adoption; but I explained both to him and to the Bais that this question was open to the decision of Hindu Lawyers, and was no wise affected by the renunciation.

Bombay, 3rd May, 1820, (1820 P. D. 483)

1820

Francis Warden to J. Williams.

Measures taken with regard to Takhtabai and their adopted son.

Settlement

See Elphinstone's Settlement, entry of May 3, 1820, paragraphs 15-17.

Baroda, 21st July, 1820, (1820, P. D. 489)

1820

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

I beg that you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have within these few days past received two or three communications from the mother and three widows of Fatesing, representing the distress to which they are reduced in consequence of the clamorous demands of the troops of their household, which they are unable to satisfy. These people remain in dharna at the palace of the Bais, who have been endeavouring to dispose of their ornaments in order to pay them, but the shroffs of the town refuse to lend them money. *Bais in trouble*

I have returned for answer to the messages of the Bais that, as they would not agree to the arrangement, made by Captain Carnac, the British Government had nothing to do with them, and it was out of my power therefore to afford them any assistance; that I strongly recommended them to make a communication to His Highness Sayaji, stating that they entirely renounced the claim, which they formerly set up in behalf of Govindrao, and requesting His Highness's assistance; and I said that, if they would send me a copy of this communication, and I should find it to be proper, I would endeavour to prevail upon Government to use its influence with His Highness in their behalf.

Minutes, 11th August.

Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the answer which he returned to the representation of the mother and widows of Fatesing has been approved by the Governor-in-Council, *Approval*

1820 *Baroda*, 25th September, 1820 (1820 P. D. 493)

C. Norris to Francis Warden.

Fatesing's widows Two of the widows of the late Fatesing, by name Lakhsmibai and Anandibai, have left the house of Fatesing and have repaired to the palace and sought the protection of His Highness the Gaikwad. This circumstance was communicated to me both by His Highness and by the remaining members of Fatesing's family. His Highness attributed the step to the distress which the ladies suffered; the other party ascribed it to the successful endeavours of His Highness to create disunion among the members of their household. I told His Highness that the ladies having sought his protection, my Government would be pleased to find that he afforded it to the members of Fatesing's family. I said that I did not see any objection to the step which the ladies had taken.

The Hon'ble the Governor while at Baroda recommended Sayaji, in case any of the members of Fatesing's family abandoned the question of the right of Govindrao to the masnad by virtue of his adoption, to grant to that person the nemnuk, which was originally agreed upon. I accordingly reminded His Highness of this. He said that, without binding himself to make to them the same allowance exactly as had been at first intended, he would promise to make a suitable provision for them, and would make me acquainted with the particulars of the arrangements when concluded.

Minutes, 9th October, 1820.

Approval The Governor-in-Council approves of Mr. Norris's proceedings regarding the two widows of the late Fatesing, who have sought the protection of His Highness Sayajirao, and considers any further interference unnecessary.

NO. 3. DHAKJI DADAJI

The documents fully deal with Dhakji's doings from 1816 to 1820: his popularity, his rise to power, his loss of face, his downfall. The hitherto unpublished information contained therein may help students to form a correct estimate of Dhakji Dadaji's career, at least, in its beginning.

DOCUMENTS

1816 *Baroda*, 14th January, 1816 (1816, P. D. 427)

James R. Carnac to F. Warden.

Dhakji recommended The absolute necessity, which I have found for the services of a respectable and intelligent native servant, induces me to solicit the sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji, now at Bombay, to the situation in this Residency, held by the late Gangadhar Shastri.

Minutes, 2nd February.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be called upon to state what *Query* appointments are intended to be vested in the person of Dhakji Dadaji in the event of his recommendation being adopted by Government.

Baroda, 10th February, 1816 (1816, P. D. 428)

1816

James R. Carnac to F. Warden.

1. In acknowledgment of your letter dated the 2nd instant *Appointment of Dhakji Dadaji* I have the honour to state that the appointment, with which I proposed to invest Dhakji Dadaji, was that of medium of communication with the Darbar on the part of the Resident, which was held by Gangadhar Shastri in addition to his appointment in the Gaikwad Government.

2. The reasons which have influenced my selection of Dhakji for this office, being intimately connected with the public interests, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will excuse my occupation of his time by a communication of them.

3. The situation of Native Agent with this Darbar acquires importance and credit from the nature of the relations subsisting at this Court, and it constitutes an object of no ordinary solicitude that the man, who is appointed to such duties, combines an inviolable integrity with an aptitude of talents suited to the various situations in which he will be called upon to officiate.

4. During some months I have myself undertaken the conduct of those details immediately with the departments of this Government, which have been formerly transacted through the channel of a respectable native. I should not have suggested the renewal of the situation alluded to, from any personal labour which its duties entailed, but from an experience which showed that in many cases my personal interference by its frequency detracted from that ascendent degree of influence, which, being exercised on seasonable occasions, is powerfully promotive of the public interests committed to my charge.

5. It would be a difficult task, which no one perhaps in my situation would willingly undertake, to render an adequate description of the peculiar duties devolving on me by the age and inexperience of Fatesing, the bias of his disposition and principles, and the poverty of capacity in the present members of the Gaikwad Government. It has successively lost those able ministers: Raoba, Madhavrao. Taty, Babaji and Gangadhar Shastri, whose abilities and great local knowledge, added to their years and established reputation, gave them such decided advantages. It has been the lot of this State to lose such servants when its difficulties were in their vigour, that they should be succeeded by others of inferior understanding to act in a government just emerging from the minority of its Sovereign.

6. The knowledge, which I have obtained of Fatesing in his administration of affairs, has conduced also to my suggestion for the appointment of Dhakji. His Highness under the impression he has

acquired of his power, particularly since the course of discussions at Poona and the death of the Shastri, has given loose to those propensities which are common to all Marathas. Their general education infuses a laxity of public principles, which can be traced in every action connected with the administration of Government; and the operation of such principles is destructive of the system we have established at Baroda.

7. I may not be considered to digress from the intent of this address by rendering to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council two examples, perhaps of many, illustrative of the disposition of Fatesing. A fraud was discovered by Vithoba Bhau in the revenue accounts of the Surat athavisi and made known to me. Fatesing was apprised of the circumstances in the course of business at his Darbar, and he promised me very fairly to institute a rigid inquiry. This however His Highness took diligence in effectually defeating by the influence of others, who, it is presumed, were biassed by [interested] views.

8. The other instance is however more important, in as much as His Highness did not succeed. A jamadar of consequence, who had for many years farmed the district of Devgaum, I had reason to believe, had not discharged his trust with fidelity. Information was brought, and security offered to prove it, of the jamadar having embezzled a large amount of revenue. The parties, being wealthy zamindars of Devgaum, having offered to deposit in the treasury of the Government the sum of 30,000 Rupees to be forfeited in case of their failure in fixing the fraud on the jamadar, Fatesing was made acquainted with the case in its precise details. He declared his intention to make the jamadar refund his ill-gotten gain, but betrayed a reluctance of going further. It was obvious however from subsequent circumstances that His Highness was not acting sincerely. The jamadar denied the charge and refused to pay the money even on condition of holding his farm. This necessarily led to my suggestion for his being removed, in order that the parties might prove his delinquency; and to this indispensable step Fatesing gave his assent. According to the regulations, a person assuming a mamlat is compelled to render money security for the stipulated amount of revenue; interested favourites however took clandestine means of deterring the soukars from engaging in the transaction; and when the mamlat was to be changed, no person could be found to participate in it. A little inquiry laid the whole scheme open to view, and it became essential that in this important instance we should crush a combination to defeat the public service.

9. It was my intention to have urged the removal of the jamadar at any expense, but luckily this disagreeable duty was precluded by the party receiving the mamlat having obtained the requisite money security from Ahmadabad, which left Fatesing no plea for hesitating to execute his original declarations.

10. In this issue an undue influence became defeated; and lately the jamadar has communicated privately to Vithoba Bhau his readiness to pay an additional revenue of 20,000 Rupees, if placed in

charge of the district of Devgaum. These overtures sufficiently prove his implication in improper acts, and authorise a belief that it has been carried to a greater extent than at present asserted. His removal, with the circumstances attending it, will, I trust, have a beneficial effect, but it has certainly excited considerable observation among all classes at this capital.

11. These statements are submitted to show the necessity of a native agent. An intimate acquaintance, a daily and familiar communication with all ranks of people, which could be afforded to a person professing the same religion and habits of life, are the advantages which we derive by an office of that description. Relatively with Fatesing, it has a particular value by securing a constant and vigilant superintendence of his interested favourites. But all its advantages are dependent on the character of the man. Unless he is above the temptations to which he would be exposed by the venality of the natives, the worst consequences would result from his intimate participation in the affairs subsisting between the Governments of the Company and Gaikwad. The character of Dhakji, I presume, has stood the test of long observation. Being in the possession of a handsome property is an additional recommendation in his favour by leaving no solid reason for his swerving from a rigid and honest discharge of his duties.

12-13. It cannot be supposed that an allowance of 150 Rupees per month (or 250 if Government is pleased to grant the palanquin) could be the main inducement for a respectable native to accept the appointment in question. It is in the first instance the well-grounded and natural hope that, under the superintendence of the British Government, any important exertions, which he may have made for its honour or interests or those of its ally, will meet with reward; and that the chance of its notice and patronage confers an honourable distinction among the native community. *Dhakji's motive*

14. In the instance of the Shastri, but more particularly in the case of the native Agent of the British Residency at Poona, the late Cursetji Modi, these persons were not circumscribed to the original denomination of service. The Shastri rose by his abilities to the most distinguished situation in this Government; and the Mody, having acquired the confidence of the Peshwa, engaged in transactions of mahals and continued his commercial dealings. These circumstances bestowed on them additional capacity to promote the service of the Company and opened a field to their honest pursuits in life.

15. Having thus stated the grounds on which my application for Dhakji Dadaji has been preferred, and the nature of his appointment in all its bearings, I have now to apologise for the prolixity of this letter and to request the commands of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Minutes, 28th February.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that, under the explanation he has afforded, the Governor-in-Council has acceded to *Approval*

the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji as the medium of communication with the Baroda Darbar; and that he will be allowed a salary of two hundred and fifty Rupees (250) per mensem as he has proposed.

1819 *Baroda*, 19th February, 1819 (1819, P. D. 414)

James R. Carnac to Mr. Newnham.

Praise The Resident writes to the Bombay Government in praise of Dhakji Dadaji. See Sayaji's accession to power.

1819 *Baroda*, 22nd February, 1819 (1819 F. D. 463)

James R. Carnac to the Board.

Sayaji & Dhakji I have the honour to submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a letter, accompanied by its translation, from His Highness Sayajirao, intimating the high sense entertained by His Highness of the merits of Dhakji Dadaji, and stating his anxiety to possess the benefits of his assistance arising from the great confidence he reposes in his judgment and fidelity.

I attribute this declaration of His Highness's feeling as eminently illustrative of the valuable services of Dhakji Dadaji and as a solid evidence of Sayajirao's disposition to cultivate and increase our confidence, likewise as a substantial proof of the estimation with which he appreciates and wishes to encourage the principles of integrity and justice throughout his administration.

This anxiety for advancing Dhakji Dadaji in his service seems derived also from his desire to exclude those who might interfere with the exercise of his power to a degree which His Highness is evidently indisposed to admit or authorise.

The unassuming disposition of Dhakji is no less pleasing to the inclinations of His Highness than his efficiency and ability is essential for rendering his services most profitable to his Government. This being unconnected with those parties, esteemed by His Highness as inimical to his elevation, furnishes another reason in his mind for selecting the aid of an individual, whose personal respectability must add weight to his government, and whose attachment he calculates on securing by becoming the medium of advancing him to a degree of distinction sufficient to establish a claim to his most zealous services in the just control of public affairs.

A repugnance would appear also to prevail in His Highness's mind against an arrangement, I was disposed to encourage, from the distrust with which he views the introduction of any influence which might militate against his possession that share of power, which it seems a leading feature in Sayaji's character to have centered in himself, unlimited by those interferences in its operation often exerted by former Ministers during the reign of other Princes.

Although fully prepared to support his wishes to advance Dhakji, from a concurrence with the valuable principles which have governed his mind, since his agency has been employed under this Residency, I have been disinclined to promote the measure from the jealousy it

might possibly engender among the officers of the State and those particularly whose family pretensions dispose them to aspire to the leading influence in the councils of Government, and who hereafter perhaps may be introduced with profit to the interest of the present Administration and every object of the alliance.

If His Highness therefore continues indisposed to yield his assent to some other plan, I shall avoid renewing the question, pending instructions from Government, assuring His Highness that Dhakji Dadaji will at the same time be as zealously prepared to contribute his aid and advice in every measure connected with the interests of the Gaikwad Government, as if invested by His Highness with a situation of greater dignity and importance; that his letter should however be transmitted to my Government, and its sentiments, would hereafter be communicated for the information of His Highness, whose high opinion of the integrity and character of Dhakji would not fail to procure him the most distinguished favour.

At the same time that I have not felt disposed to give decided encouragement to the wishes brought forward by His Highness respecting Dhakji, I feel deeply impressed with the eminent services rendered by him to the interests of the Gaikwad and the British Government; and from the personal observation of his disposition and capacity it is an act of justice that I should record the value and importance of his exertions on every occasion, and especially during the negotiation consequent on the arrangements detailed in reports in the Political Department dated 6th February, 1817, and 15th June, 1818. *Dhakji's claims*

The claims to consideration, which the services of Dhakji merit from the Gaikwad Government, will be more clearly exhibited in the statement, which I have the honour to enclose, showing the advantages and improvement effected by arrangements connected with the Gaikwad resources through the successful suggestions for regulating them, enforced under the aid of the credit and experience of our native agent, and which rendered the late Fatesing as well as His present Highness so desirous of distinguishing him by some high act of favour in compensation for services permanently beneficial at this State.

No. 1. Letter from H. A. Sayajirao Gaikwad to Right Hon'ble Sir Evan Nepean, dated 19th February, 1819.

The desire of promoting the welfare of our Government, evinced by the respectable Dhakji Dadaji by many wise and economical arrangements, which have released it from great pecuniary embarrassments, is already known to you and also the necessity existing at the present time of supporting me by strengthening and uniting more closely the friendship subsisting between both Governments. *Sayaji's request*

It is well known to me that during the time of my elder brother, Fatesingrao Gaikwad, the services of the respectable Dhakji Dadaji to this Government were exemplified in many ways most profitable to its interests and welfare, and that the benefits required to the State by economical arrangements, originating in himself, were then

highly appreciated by that Prince. Moreover the council and assistance, I have derived personally on every occasion from Dhakji Dadaji, has proved essentially important to my own welfare. At the same time his attachment to my interests and those of Government has proved most salutary through his abilities and fortitude in protecting me from the endeavours of the evil-disposed to mislead me. It may not appear requisite to explain my wishes further than to mention that I have informed Captain Carnac of my great anxiety to possess the support of the respectable Dhakji Dadaji's assistance for conducting the affairs of this Government by allowing me to place him in a situation of great rank and respectability. Captain Carnac has stated that it would be necessary for me to represent these circumstances to you, who, if advisable, will procure the Governor-General's permission for the services of the respectable Dhakji, from his kind consideration for my benefit becoming available to me for conducting public affairs with correctness and ability, while in justice to his merits a liberal and honourable reward shall be assigned to him for his eminent services with the consent and in such way as becomes the dignity of both sarkars.

These are my most anxious wishes, and I ardently desire they may meet with the fullest concurrence.

No. 2. Statement explanatory of the profits acquired to the Gaikwad State and the actual benefits secured to the Baroda Government since the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji as the native agent on the Darbar.

Amount of actual advantage acquired by the Gaikwad State in consequence of the remission negotiated with the shroffs by Dhakji Dadaji on a settlement of accounts, with the Government upto the 24th November, 1816, or Margasir Sudh, 1873, as per report to Government in the Political Department under date the 6th February, 1817, by which a positive decrease in the amount of the circumstance of the Baroda Government was effectual through Dhakji Dadaji's agency of Rs. 39,21,963 2 59

Amount of revenue increased under Dhakji's superintendence to the year 1873, contrasted with the amount in 1872, and by diminished charges, effective in the public disbursement for the same years as per report to Government dated 6th February in the Political Department Rs. 12,40,008 3 00
Rs. 51,61,966 1 59

Improved revenues by savings effected to the Gaikwad State by Dhakji Dadaji's arrangement for furnishing cash to meet all disbursements from the potdari at 9 instead of 12 per cent., made up to the 10th Jyeshth Sudh or 5th June, 1816. Rs. 1,16,953 3 00

Interest chargeable to the Gaikwad State on Rupees 39,21,963-2-59, which would have

been payable from the Gaikwad resources but for the arrangement, by which it was relinquished through Dhakji Dadaji's agency, interests calculated at 9 per cent. made up to the 10th Jeyshth Sudh or 5th June, 1816.	Rs. 1,81,390 3 27
	Rs. 54,60,312 0 86
Increased resources by an improvement in the revenue settlements negotiated through Dhakji Dadaji in the year 1874, contrasted with 1872, and which forms an improvement in the Gaikwad resources of this year. ..	5,83,214 0 92
Diminished charges in the year 1874, contrasted with 1872, enforced under the management of Dhakji	5,84,002 3 00
Advantage obtained by the arrangement negotiated by Dhakji, by which the potdari demands were answered at 9 instead of 12 per cent. amount up to Vaishak Sudh, 1874 of this year	1,45,567 3 50
Decrease in the following head of charges of Government under Dhakji's management in this year.	
Saving in modikhana expenses. Rs. 1,02,000	
Increase on dumali mahals	45,000
Decrease in the expenses of mahals' establishment	12,500
Decrease in the expense of mahal establishment by reduction in the sibandi of Kathiawar	40,000
	Rs. 1,99,500 0 00
Amount interest on Rupees 54,60,312-3-86, which would have become chargeable in the Gaikwad revenues, but is now a saving and not a disbursement, owing to the arrangement negotiated through Dhakji's agency and exertion	4,91,428 0 66
Increase on the revenues of the Gaikwad State in the year 1875 beyond that of 1872 under Dhakji's superintendence. ...	5,52,834 0 00
Decrease in the charges of the Government in the year 1875 beyond these in 1872. ..	5,84,002 3 00
Increase by improvements in the management of dumali villages daftar on investigation into their produce.	60,000 0 00

Decrease in the pargana establishment	25,000	0	00
Decrease in modikhana expenses	25,000	0	00
Decrease from reduced sibandi in Kathiawar. ..	40,000	0	00
Decrease from sibandi reductions at Baroda. ..	1,30,000	0	00
Advantage intimated to accrue from the poidari in arrangement of lessened interests to 5 years 1819.	1,40,000	0	00
Interest on Rupees 74,64,085-3-94 from the Jeyeshth Vad, 1874, to next Jeyshth Sudh 2nd, 1875, A.D. 1819, which would be chargeable in the Gaikwad resources, and which disbursement is no longer called for, but saved to the Government by the arrangement negotiated by Dhakji Dadaji.	6,71,762	1	35
Total profit derived to the Gaikwad State since the agency of Dhakji.	Rs. 96,92,625	0	29

1819 *Bombay, 17th March, 1819 (1819, P. D. 464)*

Sir Evan Nepean to Sayajirao.

Praise The Governor of Bombay writes in praise of Dhakji Dadaji. See Sayaji's Accession to Power.

1819 *Bombay, 31st March, 1819 (1819, P. D. 464)*

Mr. Newnham to James Williams.

Dhakji's case I have been directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of Captain Carnac's dispatch, dated the 22nd of last month, forwarding an original letter accompanied by a translation addressed by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad to this Government, expressive of the sense entertained by His Highness of the merits of Dhakji Dadaji, and of his wish to raise that respectable native to a situation of rank and respectability in the Administration.

The Governor-in-Council has derived very great satisfaction from the favourable report, made by the Resident, of the valuable services rendered by Dhakji Dadaji, and of the high estimation in which they are held by His Highness, and has not failed to make the same known the Supreme Government in submitting to its decision the wishes, expressed by His Highness, of introducing Dhakji Dadaji into the Administration as well as conferring on him a pecuniary reward for the zeal and assiduity displayed by him in the arduous and invidious duty of conducting the reforms.

I have now the honour of transmitting an original letter (together with a translate) from the President to His Highness, Sayajirao Gaikwad, which you will take an early opportunity of delivering to His Highness, accompanied by such further assurances as you may feel necessary to satisfy His Highness of the disposition of the British Government to afford him every possible support in his endeavours to stem the torrent of opposition, which appears to have

been raised against his measures, and enable him to conduct the duties of his government in a manner agreeable to his own feelings and beneficial to the public service.

The circumstances, detailed in Captain Carnac's dispatch in the Secret Department of the 19th February, are sufficient to demonstrate that, unless Sayajirao Gaikwad receives from the British Government the most ample and efficient support, he will be unable to conduct the affairs of his Administration with advantage to the interests of the Baroda State, and to ensure its cordial co-operation with the British Government in measures calculated for their mutual advantage.

With such a powerful opposition, aided as it is by every engine that can be employed to distract his mind, it could hardly be expected that he would be capable of supporting the principles, on which he has been acting, without some aid in his council.

As to the proposition however, adverted to by Captain Carnac, of admitting the Diwanji into the Administration as the sarsubah of Kathiawar, the Governor-in-Council entertain no doubt from the experience he has had of the characters of the official functionaries at Baroda that a claim to no inconsiderable extent will appear against the Diwanji, on the final adjustment of his accounts, in which Dhakji Dadaji is now engaged, an apprehension of the result of these investigations would probably render it the interest of the Diwanji to throw the weight of his influence against the measures of the Government; and under this impression the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that the admission of the Diwanji into the Administration at the present moment would be unadvisable.

Fort William, 7th May, 1819 (1819, P. D. 467).

1819

Warren Hastings to Sir Evan Nepean.

We have had the honour of receiving your dispatch of the 31st of March relating to the affairs of the Gaikwad State. *Company's policy*

We observe with great satisfaction the prosperous condition to which the affairs of that State have been brought by the interposition of the advice and support of the British Government under the immediate guidance of your Honourable Board; and we cordially congratulate you on the gratifying and honourable proofs, afforded by the documents enclosed in your dispatch, of the great benefit derived from the connection by our ally.

We entirely concur with you in opinion that, as long as His Highness Sayajirao shall evince an anxious desire for the continuance of our assistance on the same footing, it is neither necessary nor expedient to withdraw it; but we trust that it will cease, whenever his inclinations on this point may undergo a change.

With respect to the Rao's proposal to place Dhakji Dadaji in a situation of high rank in his Administration, provided that the expression of this wish is spontaneous, which it seems understood by your Hon'ble Board to be, we do not see any objection to the arrangement,

as it would be nothing more than the exercise of the Rao's right to choose his own minister, provided that Dhakji Dadaji, after his elevation, will not remain a servant of the Presidency, as we are of opinion that the union of the two offices would be liable to objection.

We fully agree in your opinion that the question of admitting the Diwanji into the Administration should be left for decision exclusively to the pleasure of the Rao.

Minutes, 1st July.

Orders Ordered that a copy of the preceding dispatch be transmitted to the Acting Resident at Baroda for his information and guidance.

Mr. Williams is to be apprised that in the event of His Highness Sayajirao continuing desirous to place Dhakji Dadaji in the situation which he had in contemplation, it will of course follow that he can no longer remain a servant of the British Government; but until the views of His Highness be fully explained, it will be unnecessary to take any further steps on the subject; at the same time it appears to the Governor-in-Council that this principle equally applies to the situation which he at present holds under the Baroda Government.

1819 *Baroda, 24th July, 1819 (1819, P. D. 470)*

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

Dhakji's appointment I have the honour to acknowledge that the receipt of your letter of the 1st July, enclosing for my information and guidance copy of a dispatch from the Supreme Government, and to acquaint you that I waited upon His Highness Sayajirao and communicated with him on the subject therein mentioned. His Highness informed me that he intended to appoint Dhakji Dadaji his private minister with the usual emoluments attached to the office, as he expected to derive great benefit from his services, and requested that I would accede to his immediate nomination. On my suggesting the propriety of awaiting the final instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on this point, he reluctantly consented.

I had some difficulty in making His Highness understand the incompatibility of Dhakji Dadaji holding an office under our Government, when he entered his service; but, as His Highness appears anxious on the subject, I request you will favour me, as early as may be convenient, with the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1819 *Bombay, 29th September, 1819 (1819, P. D. 471)*

James Williams to Mr. Newnham.

Dhakji appointed My letters of the 24th of July last and 20th of this month will have apprised you of the intention of His Highness Sayajirao Bhao to appoint Dhakji Dadaji to a situation in his Government and, as a preparatory step to which, of the resignation of the latter of his late-situation as native agent at the Darbar. I have now the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that His Highness last night presented Dhakji Dadaji with the

sanad and clothes of investiture and has requested me to solicit that the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company may be granted to him.

His Highness's letter together with Captain Carnac's reports precludes the necessity of my offering any further remarks upon the great benefits, which may be anticipated as likely to accrue to both Governments from the introduction of Dhakji Dadaji into an active share of the councils of this State.

No. 1. Circular letter to the Warehouse-keepers, dated 3rd May, 1805.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is pleased to prohibit you ^{Bombay} from employing Europeans or native clerks in your department, who ^{regulation} may be engaged in trade directly or indirectly, on their own account, or as agents for others. In attention to which rule and positive regulation which is now prescribed in the spirit of the last order received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors it will subject the Company's servants, who may continue to allow of such trading clerks, or other description of officers in the departments under them, to the highest displeasure of Government.

Baroda, 26th October, 1819 (1819, P. D. 472)

1819

James Williams to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary ^{Dhakji's} Newnham's letter dated the 8th instant with its enclosures, and beg ^{defence} leave to inform you that I transmitted the information called for on the 4th and 8th instant; which letters, I presume, have long since been before Government. The result of my inquiries has been that Dhakji Dadaji sent no orders or mohsuls from Baroda to the Surat athavisi to prohibit the sale of cotton in the Gaikwad district to the merchants, or to prevent the cleaning of that article from seeds, or from screwing the same.

That he purchased a certain quantity of cotton from Mairal Narayan, the mamlatdar of Baroda, to the amount of 1,200 bhars from the districts of Baroda, Sinor, Koral and Padra.

That he also purchased from Vithobai Bhau, the Khanji Diwan, and mamlatdar of Dhabhoi, 160 bhars of cotton the produce of that pargana. These purchases were settled at Baroda with these two mamlatdars and their agents, and no letters were necessary on the part of Dhakji, nor were any sent.

If any were sent, they must have been written by the mamlatdars' directions, and were probably the usual mohsul chits upon their agents not to dispose of their property till they had concluded their agreements at Baroda. The mamlatdars, farming their parganas at a fixed amount, of course spare no pains to reimburse themselves handsomely, besides making good the Government revenue. A reference to any of the northern Collectors will put Government in possession of the nature of mohsul chits. They are in such general use that, if a person was to purchase a kulsi of grain, a mohsul would be sent by the mamlatdars on the village from where he intended to provide it.

It would be satisfactory to me if the original letter of prohibition could be produced.

I trust I have now fully replied to all the points so repeatedly urged on my attention.

1820 *Bombay, 17th January, 1820 (1820, P. D. 477)*

Elphinstone to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

Dhakji's position 1. I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 25th of October, explanatory of the circumstance under which you complied with the wish of His Highness Sayajirao for the services of Dhakji Dadaji.

2. The Governor-in-Council having entered upon a consideration of the subject of that dispatch and of those treated of in your [other] letters, I have the honour of conveying his decision in the principal questions now pending, arising out of these communications, relating to the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji, to the treatment of the relations of Fatesing and Takhtabai and to the treasure of the late Anandrao.

3. The course of events have reduced the question regarding Dhakji Dadaji to very narrow limits. Having been admitted into the service of the Gaikwads by the free and spontaneous wish of Sayaji to employ him, and having resigned his situation of native agent at the Baroda Darbar, upon which condition the Supreme Government assented to the measures their approval, any notice whatever of his appointment on the part of this Government appears to be uncalled for at this period. I have however to communicate to you the expectation of the Governor-in-Council of your proceedings connected with this measure under the explanation afforded in your dispatch of the 25th of October.

15. The immediate inconvenience to be apprehended from the appointment of another native agent, in opposition to the wishes of Dhakji and probably of Sayajirao himself, has not escaped the attention of the Governor-in-Council; but he conceives it indispensable for the complete separation of the offices of minister and British agent that the latter should be a separate appointment, unconnected with Dhakji and prohibited [from] trading or engaging in financial or other departments of the Gaikwad's Government; and that he should be allowed a liberal salary in lieu of all profits, the amount of which you are desired to suggest.

16. As Dhakji may conceive the appointment of a native agent in these conditions destructive of his influence, you are at liberty to facilitate any plan you may deem [befitting] his office of minister under our offer to guarantee, with the concurrence of Sayajirao, any part of the allowances which the Gaikwad's may agree to continue to him and the profits of his share in the poldari, as long as that establishment remains on its present footing, as a reward for the savings he has effected in the expenditure of the State.

Baroda, 19th March, 1820 (1820, P. D. 481) 1820

J. Williams to Mr. Elphinstone.

In this letter Dhakji's dismissal is discussed with Sayaji. See Elphinstone's Settlement, under date March 20, 1820.

Bombay 18th April, 1820 (1820, P. D. 483) 1820

Elphinstone's minute on his proceedings while at Baroda.

In this minute Dhakji's affairs are discussed. See *Financial Puzzle* under date April 18, 1820, para 13 and *Elphinstone's Settlement* under date April 18, 1820, paras 15-17.

Baroda, 26th April, 1820 (1820 P. D. 483) 1820

Dhakji Dadaji to James Williams.

In consequence of the directions of the Hon'ble the Governor you have been pleased to put to me four different queries; and as he directed (me) that my answers to them may be given to you, in order to be forwarded to His Honour, I therefore take the liberty to do so by enclosing them herewith. *Dhakji's answers*

Query No. 1. You received stated 2,75,000 Rs. as brokerage dalali in 1873; in the report this is accounted for by charging 2,30,000 as outstanding in Mahi Kantha and 15,000 Rupees as paid into the treasury. Explain this.

Answer: The dalali or brokerage is Rupees 2,75,000 and is the sum credited to my account in the potdari (and which perhaps is debited as outstanding in the Mahi Kantha and paid into the treasury). This amount was credited to me as per Government written order, and this item was also sanctioned by Government in settling the potdar's account of that year. The dalali is usual, and the Government have also paid it to my predecessor in one or more instances. I was employed under the particular hope and, I believed, condition that the Government would reward me for my services that I might be able to render to its interests. This will appear on referring to Captain Carnac's letter to the Bombay Government, dated 10th February, 1816, mentioning in the 12th paragraph (See paragraph 12, 13) of that letter, "It is in the first instance the well-grounded and natural hope that, under the superintendence of the British Government, any important exertions, which he may have made (meaning myself) for its honour or interests or those of its ally, will meet with reward." This letter was answered on the 20th following, mentioning, "Under the explanation you have afforded the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has acceded to the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji." I beg leave also to refer to the extract of Captain Carnac's report of the 6th February, 1817 (vide accompaniment No. 1), by which it will appear that the actual saving has been to Government in 1873 to the amount of upwards of fifty lakhs of Rupees (through my agency acting under the Resident), and moreover mentioning in the 28th paragraph of that letter, "that His Highness, the late Fatesing, has expressed to Dhakji his high sense of the value of his services and his intention of taking an early opportunity of making him a reward for the important

savings which his agency has effected to the State." I also beg leave to refer to the Bombay Government's answer to this letter, dated 1st March, 1817. From the above, I do not think there could be any objection to my receiving the reward such as the Government might choose to give. Moreover His Highness the late Fatesing promised in the event of the debt being paid off to present me with a jagir and some other mark of his approbation, and I hope hereafter to be able to show what services I have rendered to the British Government through my agency.

Query No. 2. 4,00,000 Rupees was due to the pagadars at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement. They got nothing until the settlement in 1873, when it was stipulated that they should remain satisfied with 2,11,000 Rupees; of this it is stated you did not pay them 1,90,000 Rupees, but detained it in your hand, charging 1,80,000 Rupees as paid to Fatesing's creditors, who are to this day unpaid, and 10,000 Rupees to some other account.

Answer: Of the sum of 2,11,000 Rupees, it is stated, I did not pay to the pagadars 1,90,000 Rupees, but reversed it in my hand, charging 1,80,000 Rupees as paid to His Highness Fatesing's creditors, who are to this day unpaid, and 10,000 Rupees to some other accounts. Of this I am ignorant, as the potdari was in the name of Hari Bhakti, and the management of that concern was also in his hands (though I was his partner, but my name did not appear in the writing). How he managed that article in the accounts at that time I did not know; but on inquiry now made I find that the sum of 2,11,000 Rupees was credited by Hari Bhakti in his book to His Highness the late Fatesing. This might have been done by order of His Highness, but I know not whether it was credited to his account in order to pay to his creditors or otherwise. It might never have been intended by His Highness to pay it to the pagadars. In either case the potdar would never have detained any such amount in his hands, unless he was directed by His Highness the late Fatesing, as the transactions took place in his lifetime and long before his death. However the fact is that I proposed to Hari Bhakti, on the part of the Government, to reduce three per cent. interest per annum on the potdari concern; and refused by him, he endeavoured to defeat that plan; and then I offered to take the potdari myself at the reduced interest of 9 per cent. instead of 12 for 5 years. Certain reference may be had to the Resident's letter of the 14th December, 1816, and 20th February, 1817, and Government's answers dated 23rd December, 1816, and 5th March, 1817. By the reduction of the rate of interest the Government would benefit at the end of 5 years to about eight lakhs of Rupees, but Hari Bhakti refused to take it on those terms; in consequence of which I undertook to agree with the Government to supply money at the reduced interest; but, as soon as this information reached Hari Bhakti, he then applied to His Highness the late Fatesing; but I know not what settlement he made with His Highness the late Fatesing. However he offered me 1,50,000 Rupees on the part of Hari Bhakti in lieu of part of my profit, and made me agree that I should keep only half share with Hari Bhakti, so the 1,50,000

Rupees, that was paid to me, now appears to have been taken from that account. The accounts of 2,11,000 Rupees or 2,10,000, I am informed, have been rendered by Hari Bhakti to Government, and are also passed with the Government seal.

Query No. 3. Colonel Walker paid 8 annas a year as the commission for being security for the revenue (hami); but you are stated to have exacted a fee of 2 per cent.; and in three years that your whole receipt, which should have been 25,000 a year or 75,000 in all, has actually amounted to Rupees 3,00,000. Explain if this is the case.

Answer. Colonel Walker might have settled to allow for the commission of revenue at 8 annas a year, but of which I am as yet ignorant. I find that, whatever the kamavisdar paid for hami (which is I believe generally more than 8 annas), he has only to debit to Government 8 annas, and the remainder he is to make up himself by producing more on the revenue; but only to debit to Government 8 annas; whether the charge was at all wrong or not, it should have been looked into at the time, I mean in the first year; and stopped by the Government, if improper. They might have then offered a lower rate, when I would have requested to discontinue.

Query No. 4. In 1873 you are stated to have charged 2 per cent. premium on a sum of 2,30,000 paid to bankers, although you had assignments (varats) for the amount, and was [were] not to pay the bankers until they were realised; and that you have not given your partner in the potdari credit for this sum. Explain this in your answer with all particulars relating to this transaction.

Answer: The potdar is entitled for manuti interest, but in the transaction of 2,30,000 Rupees the potdar debited only 2 per cent. manuti, which must have been agreed to at the time with His Highness the late Fatesing, as it has been allowed by him in the account settled and sealed. Had it not been the case, it would have been disputed then. I am entitled to only half of this amount, and the potdar, I believe, never credited me with more, as he has a just right to the moiety of it. However my accounts are settling now with the potdar, and I have directed that this amount is to be equally divided, provided the whole amount is credited to my account, which, I believe, is not the case.

I am sorry to have lost the valuable testimony of His Highness the late Fatesing by his unexpected death. Captain Carnac is also absent. Allow me to beg that no decision may be passed (if the Governments are not satisfied from the above explanations) till his return, that I may then have the advantage of his evidence, which may be very material to me, and allow me to attend the above statements, should it be requisite hereafter.

Baroda, 28th April, 1820 (1820 P. D. 483)

1820

James Williams to Francis Warden.

On the 20th instant His Highness sent one of his confidential *Sayaji* & servants Mir Saffarazalli [*Jaffarali*] to the Residency to ascertain *Dhakji* whether I had any objection to the Ex-Minister *Dhakji* Dadaji's

immediate departure from Baroda. I told the messenger that I had none, but that I understood that His Highness had settled with Mr. Elphinstone that they would await the receipt of a letter from him, after his arrival in Bombay, when he intended to ascertain the legality or otherwise of the receipt by Dhakji Dadaji of the sums charged against him; and if not strictly legal, that he would cause him to refund, His Highness and the Bhau having both in my presence requested Mr. Elphinstone to make Dhakji repay the money amounting, as they said, to near eight lakhs of Rupees. Saffarazalli replied that he was desired by His Highness to tell me that he did not want the money, that it was more consistent with his reputation to suffer him to leave this [place] quietly, and that he was afraid of his remaining any longer here, and that he was under the protection of the Residency, that even when he went to Bombay, the money could be refunded there, if it was considered proper, but that His Highness desired to give him his dismissal with some regard to his character, and asked if I would attend the Darbar, and if he would receive his leave also from the Residency. I said certainly not, I could not consent to receive him at the Residency or attend whilst he received his dismissal, that I had nothing whatever to do with him, and I was rather surprised at the proposal. This brought to my recollection that I had heard of His Highness having received Umia Shankar at Becharji's and of his having given him assurances of protection. I mentioned this to Saffarazalli, who said it was impossible, that His Highness could not bear the sight of him, and that I ought not to credit such stories. He then took leave, and I made inquiries respecting the meeting of His Highness and Umia Shankar, and ascertained that it actually had taken place, and that the latter had told His Highness that he had committed many faults, that he had taken money besides, but that everybody else had done the same, and why should he alone be singled out for punishment, that he was only a servant. His Highness told him not to be alarmed.

On the 24th I visited His Highness and asked him what were his real intentions respecting Dhakji. He referred me to Saffarazalli, for whom, on my return to the Residency, I sent; and he merely reported what he had told me before, and repeated His Highness's earnest desire that he should quit Baroda, I told him that rested with His Highness.

I beg leave to state that during the visit I paid His Highness he expressed in the presence of his Ministers his sense of the obligation he was under to Mr. Elphinstone for having raised him in the estimation of the people and for having with such liberality of sentiment placed explicit confidence in him; he declared that he would never swerve from his agreements, that he considered me in the light of an elder brother, and that he felt assured that he owed his present exalted situation greatly to my friendly exertions. I replied that Mr. Elphinstone had chosen to give His Highness the unfettered exercise of his authority from having been satisfied that he was capable of conducting with advantage to the State his own affairs; that Mr. Elphinstone had an opportunity of trying the extent of his

abilities during the late transactions, and had been satisfied of his entire competence to discharge the duties of his station; and that it only remained with His Highness by his conduct to prove himself worthy of the confidence Mr. Elphinstone had reposed in him.

His Highness's wish to send off Dhakji so speedily may either arise from a fear of his again coming into employment with us or from some agreement having been made through Umia Shankar with His Highness on the part of Dhakji. In either case I do not consider I have any authority to interfere and shall not therefore object to his departure.

Bombay minutes, 8th May.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding dispatch, stating *Orders* the purport of communications with His Highness Sayajirao on the subject of the departure of Dhakji Dadaji from Baroda, ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that, if Dhakji Dadaji be desirous of leaving Baroda, and Sayajirao does not object to his departure, the British Government cannot prevent him; on the other hand, if Dhakji be unwilling to leave Baroda, and the Raja should wish it, he may be allowed a short time to settle his affairs, after which our protection is to be withdrawn.

Baroda, 7th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 484)

1820.

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

His Highness having represented to me that the ex-minister Dhakji Dadaji was delaying the settlement of his accounts with the bankers, preparatory to his receiving his leave, I requested Captain Perkins to send for him, and ascertain the cause of it, and to explain to him the necessity of an early adjustment. I have the honour to enclose a copy of that officer's report on the subject.

Letter from W. Perkins to James Williams, dated Baroda, 30th April, 1820.

In pursuance of your instructions I sent for Dhakji Dadaji and had a long conversation with him respecting his potdari concerns, the substance of which I had the honour to report to you. *Report on Dhakji's delay*

He informed me that he is now settling his potdari concerns with Hari Bhakti, and he is in great hopes in a few days to bring them to a conclusion.

That as soon as all his accounts are settled with Hari Bhakti, he then shall proceed to adjust all the potdari concerns with Rattanji Khandas for Kathiawar; that as soon as they are all finished, the necessary release shall be given.

I then told him that Rupees 1,75,000, settled by the Hon'ble the Governor, was given to him for his share of the profits of the whole of the potdari concern. He replied he understood at the time that sum was granted him, the Kathiawar potdari concerns were not included; but from what I told him, he was satisfied to the contrary; and that he

should in the adjustment of all his affairs be most happy to be guided by your advice.

I then told him that, unless he came to an immediate settlement with all the potdari affairs, you would be obliged to recommend to His Highness Sayaji to withhold the sum of Rupees 1,75,000 from him; and that you would then report all his proceedings to the Hon'ble the Governor. He most solemnly declared that nothing had been or should be wanting on his part to bring all his accounts to a speedy settlement. He then requested me to ask you to allow him a copy of a paper respecting the potdari concerns with Hari Bhakti; which I told him I would mention to you, and that I had no doubt you would allow him to have it.

Minutes, 18th May, 1820.

Order Ordered that the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council has every disposition to afford Dhakji Dadaji any reasonable aid that a British subject can demand with the view of settling his accounts.

1820 *Baroda, 12th May, 1820 (1820 P. D. 485)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Dhakji's dismissal When the Hon'ble the Governor left Baroda, he desired me to report all the circumstances relative to the dismissal of Dhakji Dadaji from the ministry of His Highness Sayajirao.

From the time of the murder of Gangadhar Shastri the Resident had, with the aid of Vithalrao, the Minister, and the other functionaries, conducted the affairs of Government, but finding he was unable without the aid of some intelligent and active native assistant to detect and prevent the numerous abuses in the administration of affairs, he on the 14th January, 1816, applied to Government for the services of Dhakji Dadaji to fill that situation. This was assented to by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, in the Chief Secretary's letter of 22nd of February, 1816, in which he desired he might be informed what appointments were intended to be vested in that native.

The Resident replied on the 10th of February, 1816, that, in consequence of the general disqualification of the Ministers, from their habits of intrigue and venality, to enable him to carry on the reforms with security, the services of an agent were required to check speculation; and he stated that the allowances of Rupees 250 per month could not be any inducement for so respectable a native to accept the appointment in question; and mentioned in the 12 and 13 paragraphs [see paragraphs 12-13 and 14]: "It is in the first instance the well-grounded and natural hope that, under the superintendence of the British Government, any important exertions, which he may have made, for their honour and interests or those of its ally, will meet with reward; and that the chance of its notice and patronage confers an honourable distinction among the native community. In the instance of the Shastri, but more particularly in the case of the native agent of the British Residency at Poona, the late Cursetji Modi, these

persons were not circumscribed to the original denomination of service. The Shastri rose by his abilities to the most distinguished situation in this Government; and the Modi, having acquired the confidence of the Peshwa, engaged in transactions of mahals and continued his commercial dealings. These circumstances, bestowed on them additional capacity to promote the service of the Company and opened a field to their honest pursuits in life." To which the Government replied that, under the explanation afforded by the Resident, they assented to the appointment.

On the 15th of December, 1816, the Resident reported that he could obtain a remission of 40 lakhs of Rupees from the creditors of the Gaikwad Government; which was entirely owing to the acquaintance of the agent with native accounts and his zeal for the interests of both Governments; and that Dhakji Dadaji would also engage to supply funds at the rate of 9 per cent. instead of 12 per cent.; and requested he might be empowered to accept the offer, and stated that our guarantee to the bankers did not prevent us obtaining better terms if procurable.

The Chief Secretary's letter of the 23rd of December, 1816, acknowledged the receipt of the Resident's letter of the 14th preceding, and entirely approved of the measure and the proposal for reducing the interest on the Gaikwad loan.

The Resident reported to the Government on the 27th February, 1817, the usual arrangements for the potdari concerns of the Government, and stated that in compliance with His Highness Fatesing's desire Dhakji Dadaji had admitted Mairal Narayan and Hari Bhakti to a share in the concerns.

On the 22nd of February, 1819, the Resident forwarded a letter to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council from His Highness Sayajirao applying for the services of Dhakji Dadaji as a minister, and noticing the eminent benefits derived to his State for his economical arrangements.

The Resident also enclosed a statement showing that a sum of not less than 96 lakhs had accrued to the State during the management of Dhakji, a period of three years; and stated that His late Highness Fatesing had been desirous of distinguishing him by some high rate of favour in compensation for services permanently beneficial to the State.

On the 17th of March the Chief Secretary to Government replied to this letter of Captain Carnac's and enclosed a letter to His Highness Sayajirao, expressive of their inclination to gratify him by permitting Dhakji Dadaji to enter his service, but that they had recommended the measure to the Bengal Government, who would no doubt attend to His Highness's wishes. They also stated their gratification at the recorded service and merits of Dhakji Dadaji.

On the 1st of July, 1819, the Secretary to Government transmitted a copy of a letter from the Supreme Government, acceding to the request of His Highness for the services of Dhakji Dadaji, but

remarking that holding the two situations of native agent and minister at the same time, can not be correct.

The Bombay Government, in forwarding these letters, observed that they did wish the business to be agitated at present, and that they conceived the objections, made by the Bengal Government, existed also in respect to his present situation in the potdari concerns under the Gaikwad Government. It is to be remarked that this had been sanctioned by Government in their letter of the 23rd of December, 1816.

On the 24th of July, 1819, I reported to Government that His Highness Sayajirao intended to make Dhakji Dadaji his private minister, and that he had pressed me to permit of his immediate nomination, but that I had requested him to await the final instructions of Government; and I also stated that His Highness was with difficulty made to comprehend the incompatibility of the two situations of native agent and minister, and that His Highness was excessively anxious upon the subject. No replies arriving from Government to the several letters which had been addressed to them on the subject of Dhakji Dadaji entering the service of the Gaikwad Government, I conceived that the Supreme Government's dispatch was to be considered as containing the sentiments of the Bombay Government, and accordingly accepted the resignation of the native agent in September 1819, preparatory to his entering His Highness's service, and reported the circumstance to Government.

On the 29th September, 1819, I advised Government that His Highness Sayajirao had presented Dhakji Dadaji with the clothes and sanads of investiture, and had requested that the guarantee of the Hon'ble Company might be given to him, and I stated that His Highness's letter and Captain Carnac's report in January last precluded the necessity of my saying anything upon the subject.

On the 8th of October, 1819, the Acting Chief Secretary conveyed the disapprobation of Government of my conduct in accepting the resignation of Dhakji Dadaji, and stated that, until the explanations called for in regard to the native agent's conduct respecting some speculations in cotton were furnished, they must withhold their sanction to the measure, and desired me to inform him whether Dhakji Dadaji was to hold the office of potdar as well as private minister to His Highness.

On the 25th of October, 1819, I replied to this communication, giving my reasons for acceding to His Highness's wishes respecting Dhakji Dadaji, and requesting to be informed whether I was to make known to His Highness the orders of Government in respect to Dhakji Dadaji.

On the 17th of January, 1820, the Government acknowledged that the explanations furnished were satisfactory, but urged the propriety of Dhakji Dadaji retiring, and authorised me to facilitate his resignation by guaranteeing to him such part of his allowances, as His Highness may be willing to grant. I communicated this to His Highness, who said he would give him half his allowances, and expressed no regret at losing his services, I had told the Minister to

communicate this letter to His Highness, which he informed me he did, but that His Highness was alarmed at the idea, and said that he could not part with him, as his services were so invaluable. Having reason to doubt this, I requested His Highness to send a confidential officer to me, as I had something to communicate. On his arrival, I repeated to him, what I had before told His Highness. He said that His Highness never had any confidence in Dhakji Dadaji, and that he desired my advice and assistance. I was very much surprised at this communication and could not avoid expressing any astonishment to the person who brought the message, and requested he would inform His Highness that I should like much to see him, when we would discuss over the object. I shortly after saw His Highness at his garden, when he unreservedly told me that he was excessively anxious to be rid of Dhakji; that he never liked him, and had only appointed him because he thought it would please my predecessor and me; that Umia Shankar, the gumastha of Dhakji, insulted all his ministers and was a low wretch. I asked His Highness why, when we had two or three private interviews, before he nominated Dhakji Dadaji, he had not informed me. He said he was afraid, and that he thought these were only matters of form, and that I told Dhakji Dadaji everything that had passed between us, that he had then no remedy. I asked His Highness why he had now confidence sufficient in me to mention these things. He said that he had observed that I did not place that reliance on Dhakji Dadaji since his appointment to the ministry, as I did before, that I used other people as channels of communication, and that he was now convinced that I had been deceived as well as himself. I put His Highness in mind of his repeated assertion to me of his regard and esteem for Dhakji Dadaji, of his desire to have him in his employment, of his request to Captain Carnac to forward his letter and to write to Bombay to obtain him the services of Dhakji Dadaji, and that I really was surprised at his sudden change of opinion. His Highness said I need not be surprised, that everybody knew the custom of Baroda, and that he was then deceived and afraid, that he had no experience of English gentlemen, and begged me distinctly to understand that both Dhakji Dadaji and his servant, Umia Shankar, were obnoxious to him. I then said His Highness might allow Dhakji Dadaji to retire; but sensing His Highness demur, and that he was afraid openly to avow his intention of displacing Dhakji Dadaji, without the aid of the Resident, I wrote this privately to the Hon'ble the Governor and requested instructions. I was desired to tell His Highness to do as he pleased with Dhakji Dadaji and report what passed, and to take care that a sensible successor was appointed, and that Sitaram was not to be the man. Still finding [that] not only His Highness but the other officers of the State could not exactly credit that I would not support Dhakji Dadaji against them, I again wrote on the subject, as His Highness became pressing, and was afraid to act on my assurances, conceiving that Dhakji Dadaji possessed great influence with our Government and with the English gentlemen and, I fancy, now conceiving, that I was perfectly uninterested in the matter. The Hon'ble the Governor replied to the last communication that he should come up to Baroda immediately, and directed me to inform his Highness that, hearing he was desirous of changing his Minister, and finding it

necessary to mark out the line he was to go on hereafter, he had thought it better to come up at once to Baroda, and that he contemplated much pleasure from forming a personal friendship with so steady an ally of the British Government. I acquainted His Highness with this, who expressed his joy and extreme happiness at the idea of Mr. Elphinstone's visit, and said that his mind was now relieved from much anxiety. It was settled to leave everything relative to the dismissal of Dhakji Dadaji until Mr. Elphinstone's arrival, which took place on the 15th of March, when Sayaji explained to Mr. Elphinstone the reasons which induced him to apply for his services, and the cause of his now wishing to give him his dismissal. He said that he certainly had expected to derive certain services from him, that he had not done so, and was dissatisfied with him.

Settlement It was finally settled that Dhakji Dadaji should retire upon one-third of his allowance, Rupees 30,000.

In making the arrangement for the new loan it was found that, unless Dhakji Dadaji retired from the potdari, no loan could be raised, he was therefore asked what he would take to give up his share. After much quibbling and discussion, he agreed to relinquish his share of the profits of 18 months for the sum of Rupees 1,75,000, and the parties were to get mutual releases. His Highness had some idea of not giving him the third of his allowance, finding him so totally regardless of the circumstances of the Baroda State and so shamefully exorbitant in his demands, but found that the Rupees 30,000 of villages were inam, which it would not be customary to resume, unless in cases of treason or other heinous offences.

It was finally settled that he should receive his allowance, until the day of his dismissal, he being liable to answer any claims of the Government upon him.

Accusations At a subsequent meeting His Highness and the Bhau produced a memorandum, charging Dhakji Dadaji with having obtained money to a considerable amount in an unauthorised manner. Mr. Elphinstone said that, could it be proved that he had done so, of course he would have to refund. Mr. Elphinstone sent for Dhakji Dadaji and asked him about these sums, which he admitted to have received, and said that it was his right, and defended himself on the 12th and 13th paragraphs of Captain Carnac's report, explaining the nature of his situation, that it was with his knowledge and Fatesing's that he had received the money, and that it was merely a compensation for his services. Mr. Elphinstone told him he thought his receipt of the money illegal, and that he should inquire into the question of its legality in Bombay, and should cause him to refund it, if contrary to law. Dhakji Dadaji replied that he should expect nothing but justice from the English gentlemen, and said he would satisfactorily answer the queries that were sent him by Captain Barnwell, drawn up from the memorandum given in by the Bhau.

On the 26th of April he sent in his replies to them, of which I forwarded a copy to Government. They contain the defence of his receipt of these sums. Respecting the first article, of his having.

received the sum of Rupees 2,75,000 as brokerage, on the grounds of his predecessor (Gangadhar Shastri) having received it, and of the Gaikwad Government having sanctioned the item, when the potdari accounts took place at the end of 1873 (1817), I conceive it to be perfectly untenable.

During the period of Sitaram Raoji's administration the Shastri was given Rupees 80,000 to pay his Poona debts; and in Babaji Appaji's ministry, on the introduction of the Gaikwad reforms, he was paid brokerage, on account of his services in carrying them through, about a lakh of Rupees. This was reported to Government by Colonel Walker and sanctioned by the Supreme Government. This is widely different from the clandestine manner in which Dhakji Dadaji appears to have received what he calls brokerage.

I cannot believe that Captain Carnac was acquainted with the circumstance, and I can safely assert that neither myself or any gentleman of the Residency were aware of it.

His reply to the second article is vague and unsatisfactory. He appears to have received the money.

His answer to the third article is equally indistinct and fallacious.

To the fourth article the reply is correct if his partners received their share of the manuti, as the Government give drafts upon the potdars, before the varats given by them were realised.

Upon a review of the whole the concerns of Dhakji, he cannot have made less than 12 lakhs of Rupees. besides his inam villages of Rupees 30,000 per annum. The question is whether he is to be allowed to retain them, and whether no part of this money, acquired in the manner above stated, whilst a servant of the British Government, can be legally taken from him.

Having been informed by His Highness that Dhakji Dadaji was *Departure-* purposely delaying the settlement of his accounts with the bankers and Government, I desired Captain Perkins to send for him and inquire into his reasons, and that officer's report was forwarded to Government on the 7th instant.

His Highness is desirous of not paying the sum of Rupees 1,75,000 until he fairly settles all his accounts; but I have objected to this, as, until he receives the sum agreed to be given him for his share of the potdari, he will not give releases to the bankers. I told His Highness he might of course detain him, if he had any demands against him, that he was no servant of ours. His Highness said that he would rather lose the money, that he wished him out of Baroda, and that I would make him settle his accounts with the bankers. I again told His Highness that I could go no further than the arrangements made by Mr. Elphinstone, that the whole affair rested with His Highness; upon which he declared himself satisfied, and that after his marriage he would give him his dismissal.

Fresh difficulty On the 8th instant His Highness requested my attendance at the palace, when he informed me that Dhakji Dadaji refused to refund the money he had taken this year from the kamavisdar under the name of hami (security), and that altogether his demand upon him was for Rupees 1,30,000. I said, if that was the case, and he would not refund, that His Highness had only to compel him to settle his accounts with the bankers and the Government. His Highness asked me how he was to do it. I said he was the only Prince, who could ask such a question, that I had nothing to do with Dhakji Dadaji, as he was not a dependant of ours; he might place him under restraint, as is usual in such cases.

Appointed minister I have now a few words to say on the subject of his appointment to the office of minister, which I cannot help fancying that I have been in a great measure the means of procuring for him.

On the death of Fatesing and accession of Sayajirao, a new Commission of Government was formed, consisting of the Regent, the Resident, and the Native Agent. The name of the Khanji Diwan (Minister) was not inserted, and the whole power devolved on the Agent. Sayaji, being at that time too unexperienced to exercise authority, and being brought suddenly from the obscurity of private life into the splendour of a throne, was naturally inclined to bow to those by whose influence he was led to believe his accession had been secured, and had no idea of objecting to a measure under the presumed sanction of the Resident. The alarm excited in His Highness's mind by the reception given to the vakil of the family of Fatesing by the Governor of Bombay, and the hope of emancipating himself from the control of the Residency, or rather (the Native Agent), may possibly have augmented the anxiety of His Highness to have Dhakji Dadaji in his service. Captain Carnac had in the month of February stated His Highness's desire to have that native in his employ. He may have conceived that the largeness of the income, he could give him, would have the effect of attaching him; and that his retaining at the same time the office of the Native Agent would effectually prevent the introduction of any similar offensive influence in his Darbar. Dhakji, observing this, no doubt urged the benefit he would derive from his services from his being the agent; and that he would find means to obstruct any measure which His Highness might think injurious to him; that he possessed the Resident's ear; that, if he gave him the appointment, he would ensure him from any harm which the intrigues of the family of Fatesing may have caused it to be intimated to His Highness that he had gone too far now to recede; that Captain Carnac, his patron, would be seriously angry, when he returned; and that I was exceedingly desirous of having this business settled; and when I may have desired my wishes to be conveyed to Sayajirao, that he would come to some determination, he may have said that it was my desire that he should be immediately appointed. When Sayaji was told he could not have both situations, he asked me, and I did promise, not to make another Native Agent.

I was at that time naturally desirous of seeing, what I then considered, the valuable and honest services of the Native Agent rewarded. I conceived that he had received no remuneration for the trouble and zeal he had evinced in the service of the Gaikwad since the emoluments of the potdari, of which I know not the amount, and which I told him he could no longer hold while a servant of our Government, according to the tenor of the letter from Government. Forwarding the Supreme Government's letters acceding to Dhakji Dadaji's nomination by His Highness to the office of minister, I told him candidly to make his election, if he was conscious of being able to discharge the duty of minister, and to accept of His Highness's offer; and on his asking my advice on the subject, I said that I conceived him to be most fortunate. I asked how he could hesitate an instant in accepting a situation of such a trust and rank as that offered by His Highness; that he could not hold the two offices of potdar and Native Agent; and that I thought his appointment would be of essential benefit to both Governments, especially at this time, when we were about relinquishing the entire control over its affairs.

I offered all this advice in the impression that he had not been adequately rewarded, and that his services, as reported by Captain Carnac, fully entitled him to my support.

I have nothing further to add than that it appears that both Captain Carnac and myself have been most aggressively mistaken, though at the same time a little more candor and manliness on the part of His Highness Sayajirao and his minister would have prevented all these unpleasant circumstances.

Minute by the Hon'ble the Governor.

I only meant Mr. Williams to report on the charges against Dhakji, But his account of all the transactions relating to that person is not without its use. Mr. William's account of his own share in Dhakji's appointment is very candid and honourable, but I still think Sayaji did wish to have Dhakji for his minister as long as he thought he was still to be Native Agent.

I beg to refer to my former minute regarding the mistakes in Captain Carnac's letter as to the situation of the Modi of Poona. I believe the Advocate General's opinion was called for, regarding its course to be adopted towards Dhakji.

Baroda, 16th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 485)

1820

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

His Highness requested me to inquire of Dhakji the reason of Delay the delay in settling his accounts. The enclosed is Captain Perkins's statement, which, on inquiry, I find to be correct. The bankers have also been dilatory in fulfilling the engagement entered into by them for the payment of the troops.

1820 Baroda, 15th May, 1820.

Letter from William Perkins to James Williams, dated Baroda, 15th May, 1820.

Report I have the honour to report to you that, agreeable to your instructions, I yesterday sent for the ex-minister Dhakji Dadaji and had a long conversation with him upon the subject of the settlement of his accounts with the Gaikwad Government and the bankers.

He most positively asserts that he has not purposely delayed the adjustment of his accounts with the bankers, but on the contrary has been most anxious to bring them to a speedy arrangement, that they are now nearly finished, and that a balance remains due from them to him of eight lakhs of Rupees, which they have not yet settled, but make some demur about it, that he is in great want of the money to be enabled to pay other demands against him.

He likewise most positively declares that he has never refused to answer certain demands of the Government against him, that the fadnavis and he have nearly brought all his accounts with the Gaikwad Government to an issue; the only part that remains unadjusted is the Malwa accounts. He requested to be allowed to send for his gumastha from thence, as he is perfectly acquainted with all the concerns in that quarter. Immediately upon his arrival everything will be finally arranged. The Government agreed to his sending for his gumastha, and letters are sent to order him in.

By the accounts already made out between him and the fadnavis several pieces are to be credited and others debited to him to a large amount; and immediately the gumastha arrives from Malwa, nothing shall be wanting on his part to bring all his accounts with the Gaikwad Government to a speedy settlement.

1820 Baroda, 17th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 484)

Dhakji Dadaji to James Williams.

Progress of accounts Your messages have been communicated to me by Captain Perkins, requiring me to settle my accounts with the pottari as also with the Gaikwad Government. In the event of my delaying the same, you will withdraw the protection of the British Government. To which I did explain that there is no delay on my part at all. I also take the liberty of addressing you this letter, a copy of which, if you think proper, be pleased to forward to Bombay Government for their notice and satisfaction.

I have already and long ago settled my accounts with the pottars, as also within the manner they wished, since I have left no alternative; by which means they have taken very great advantage over me, but I cannot help [it] in my present time. Had the same been settled in [a] fair manner, it would have made much difference in my favour. When these accounts have been thus settled, it would be to their interest to have paid me [the] whole or any part of it. Though I begged of them severally, the people, to whom I am indebted, they are by some persuasion pressing me hard, such as

would give reflection to my credit. I requested them over and over that I want to settle my concern and proceed to Bombay without loss of time, but they never attend to [this]; consequently they may be directed by Government to pay me immediately.

I have also almost adjusted the Gaikwad Government's account with the fadnavis, and am now waiting for my gumastha in the Malwa contingent; though there be a trifling balance on either side, but yet it requires to be closed. I have also written to my gumastha, who is, with the senior lady of the Gaikwad family, proceeded for pilgrimage to Benares; in which account there must be also a balance on either side, and which I expect in short time. I have applied to the Gaikwad Government for an order on the commander of Gaikwad troops in Malwa to allow my gumastha to come to this place on purpose, which His Highness did give the letter accordingly, which I have presented here to the commander, Amin-ud-din Husain Khan Bahadur (who is now here on the occasion of his wedding). He in consequence sent the necessary order to Malwa, there 5 days ago.

Consequently he is shortly expected here, as I [*do not?*] want to close the whole concern in my absence; nor even now anyone can come to me or assist me, for fear of Government may have their displeasure on him or them. I am sitting in my house quiet, settling my accounts with the different people, but no means of payment.

My potdari concern is under the guarantee of the British Government, which I expect to close finally before I depart from this place, as the British Government will never wish me to leave my extensive concern unclosed and the balances due from the potdari to be left uncovered; and I am assured that yourself and His Honour will see the justice done to me, and I am much anxious to proceed to Bombay soon.

Sometimes potdars tell me that I must give them their writing back, which I had from them for holding my share in the potdari, without which, they say, they cannot pay me. To this I have replied to them that I have already given the writings to you. I believe they think that, since the writings are not in my hands, I shall not have any force over them, but in this they are very much mistaken.

Baroda, 23rd May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)

1820

Dhakji Dadaji to James Williams.

I have been forwarded with your letter of the 21st instant, acknowledging the receipt of my letter and mentioning to have forwarded it to Government. [*See accompaniment*]. *Defends himself*

You mention that I have refused to attend to the Darbar to settle my accounts. You must be already aware, from the reports Captain Perkins has made to you, as also I have adverted to in my letter of the 17th instant, which you have now acknowledged, that I have adjusted the same with the fadnavis, and am waiting for my gumastha from Malwa, as also my account from the gumastha who proceeded to Benares, without which this account cannot be finally closed. On the

whole there will be a trifling balance on either side. Consequently there was no need of my attendance till these accounts are arrived, and which I had explained properly to the person who attended to me on the part of His Highness, and desired him moreover to return with an answer of His Highness, that I may act accordingly; but he never did. I hope this will convince you that I am not in fault nor acted from any other motives. Indeed I am extremely concerned to observe from you that the British protection will be withdrawn from me, which was gained and enjoyed by my forefathers since the time that Bombay has been given by the King of Portugal to the English, and still the whole and large of my family uninterrupted enjoying the same in different parts of the British Government.

2. The bankers, who are my partners in the late potdari, with whom the accounts have been already settled; this you might have been already observed [from] the report made to you by Captain Perkins as also [from] my letter to your address of the 17th instant; and I have no objection to pass mutual releases, of which I have already told them; and the releases are ready prepared, which will be signed and exchanged, when they will pay the money, as is usual and customary.

3. If you have no objection, I beg you will be pleased to give me at least the copies of the potdars' written arrangements, with you, given by me. I am ready to answer Government's demands, if any will appear on the close of the account, which I have already mentioned in the first part of this letter.

The potdars evading with frivolous excuses to pay my balance of the account settled, consequently I cannot pay to those [to] whom I am indebted, and which hurts very much to my credit; and as I have been mentioned both from Captain Perkins and yourself, and the other people are also begin to talk that you will withdraw from me the British protection. Indeed this has very much alarmed me, as I was only proud of that particularly at this time. Consequently I cannot say more, but my person will never be safe at this place; and therefore I beg your permission to proceed to Bombay, though this time is very disagreeable to me for my journey by overland on account the sun powering so much, and my health is weak; but I cannot help it. I may be obliged to quit this place in the rainy season therefore I may as well prefer this time, and will trust to the Hon'ble the Governor's decision in Bombay.

Letter from James Williams to Dhakji, dated Baroda, 21st May, 1820.

Accusations
and threats

Your letter has been received and a copy forwarded to Government. It is now understood that you have refused to attend at the Darbar to settle your accounts. It is not the desire of the British Government to injure any person, but they will not permit deception to be practised. You are therefore informed that the British protection will be withdrawn from you. The bankers, who were your partners in the late potdari, have declared themselves willing to settle accounts; and it does not appear that there is any delay on their part. When

mutual releases have been passed, the papers, given to me by you at the desire of the Hon'ble the Governor, will be returned. At the conference, when it was decided to give you 1,75,000 Rupees for your share of the profits of the poldari, you agreed to answer all demands of Government upon you; you are now desired to do so.

Bombay, 23rd May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)

1820

O. Woodhouse, Advocate General, to Mr. Henderson.

1. I had yesterday the honour to receiving your letter dated the 10th instant, transmitting to me copies of a dispatch from the Acting-Resident at Baroda, dated the 27th of April last, on the subject of certain charges, which have been preferred against Dhakji Dadaji, and also copies of the correspondence which occurred on the occasion of Dhakji Dadaji's appointment to the situation of native agent, and of that relating to his admission into the Baroda poldari, and requiring my opinion in respect to the legal measures which can be adopted for punishing the receipt of those sums alleged to have been improperly taken by Dhakji Dadaji in his capacity of Native Agent, and for the recovery of the amount. Charges examined

2. I have perused the above mentioned documents with great attention, but I am not certain that I have been able to attain anything like a precise notion of the pecuniary transactions under which the charges against Dhakji Dadaji have arisen. I have not been able clearly to collect in what capacity the first and third sums, which he is charged with receiving, were received by him, whether they were received by virtue or under colour of his office of poldari, or of any other and what official situation. If these sums as well as the other two were received by him as poldar or under colour of that office, the case resolves itself into two main questions; the first of which is whether his acceptance of that office was compatible with his situation as Native Agent of this Government; and secondly, if compatible, whether the sums received were such as usage justified, or authority had expressly sanctioned.

3. As to the first question, I think it is quite clear from a reference to Mr. Carnac's letter, dated the 10th February, 1816, and the Government's answer, that it was in the contemplation of all parties that Dhakji's remuneration was not to be limited to the receipt of his salary; and in the 13th paragraph the nature of the sources whence his additional remuneration was to spring is partly unfolded. The examples of the Shastri at Baroda and the Modi at Poona are there referred to; from which I should presume that any situation, which Dhakji could get under the Baroda Government, analogous to the offices enjoyed by these persons, would not have been considered as inconsistent with his employment as Native Agent. Whether the office of poldari be such a situation, I am not competent to decide; but from the circumstance of its appearing to have been sanctioned by Mr. Carnac in his letter dated the 14th December, 1816, and by this Government in their letter dated the 23rd of the same month, I should presume that it is.

This being the case, the next question arises whether the sums received, enormous as they appear, were not the legitimate fruits of this office. I have already stated that I do not sufficiently understand the nature of the first receipt to say what character is to be ascribed to it. The second appears to be of a very equivocal kind, to say the least of it. It is, if I understand it rightly, a premium for the admission of Hari Bhakti as a partner in the potdari. Whether such a step, although it is stated to have had the sanction of Fatesing, was taken with the knowledge of this Government or of Mr. Carnac, is not stated; and whether it was consistent with the obligations which Dhakji was under to this Government, or with the views with which his appointment was sanctioned by it, I must confess myself also incompetent to decide. The premium however certainly appears to have been paid, not from the funds of Hari Bhakti, but by a misappropriation and diversion of those of the Gaikwad. This looks very like a struggle between Dhakji and Hari Bhakti to cheat the Gaikwad. For, though this claim is stated by Dhakji to have been passed in account by Fatesing, I should imagine that His Highness's accounts were not always audited in such a way as to detect a fraud of this kind, especially when practised by such a skilful treasurer as Dhakji Dadaji and so experienced a one as Hari Bhakti. It seems also to be insinuated by Dhakji that this payment of Rupees 1,50,000 was to be made by Fatesing. But I must confess the whole of the transaction, as far as Fatesing is made to take an active part in it, is beyond my comprehension. I should think this sum to be clearly recoverable from Dhakji Dadaji; and if the Gaikwad does not possess sufficient means of his own to compel the repayment, I incline to think that he might institute a suit against Dhakji for that purpose in the Recorder's Court.

I incline to think that the receipt, stated in the third charge, must also be considered as an unauthorised one. But whether Dhakji is to be considered as holding this sum for the Gaikwad or for this Government, I am unable, from my ignorance as to the nature of this transaction, to pronounce decidedly. If for the Gaikwad, his remedies are the same as those already alluded to; if for this Government, they have their remedy in the Recorder's Court.

4. The receipt, stated in the 4th charge, does not seem to be urged very strongly as an unjustifiable one, the charge appears to be that Dhakji had not allowed his partner to participate in it.

5. I have hitherto considered the receipts by Dhakji as made by him under colour of his office of potdari. If this be the case, I incline to think that no criminal proceedings can be had against Dhakji. The civil remedies against them are those above mentioned. And if any of the sums, charged against Dhakji, were received by him in his capacity of Native Agent merely, I incline to think that no criminal proceeding could be instituted against him; unless the transaction amounted clearly to the case of a bribe or of extortion. The receipts, charged against Dhakji, however improperly had, do not, I think, amount to such offences. I incline to think that any sums, received by Dhakji in his last mentioned capacity, could not be

considered as coming within the mode of additional remuneration contemplated by Mr. Carnac and this Government, and that such sums might be recovered by the modes already referred to, either by the Gaikwad or this Government, as the interests of the one or the other were affected by the individual receipts.

6. I have to apologise for the prolixity of this letter, which has assumed the form of a discussion rather than an opinion, and to beg that you will ascribe it to the shortness of time which I have had to deliberate on the important case submitted to me; important, because it involves questions affecting the means of checking that corruption which, to a certain degree, infests and disturbs every Indian Government, and which seems to increase to an [enormous] magnitude wherever natives are vested with any great power or influence.

No. 1. Minute by the Governor to which the Commander-in-Chief subscribes.

By the paragraph between crosses [*i. e.* paragraph 5] it appears *Query* that Government cannot prosecute Dhakji for receiving large sums of money as Native Agent, unless they were clearly received as bribes or by extortion. The British Government therefore has no claim on Dhakji; and the Gaikwad, who alone has a claim to recover the property, would probably rest with us to prosecute here in the Recorder's Court. We must therefore decide whether to allow the Gaikwad to reimburse himself, while Dhakji remains at Baroda or not.

No. 2. Minutes by Mr. Prendergast, dated 28th of May.

Mr. Woodhouse in almost every paragraph of his report of the 23rd instant states his inability to attain "anything like a precise notion of the pecuniary transactions under which the charges against Dhakji Dadaji have arisen;" owing to which and to his want of time, in consequence I presume of his being obliged from ill health to proceed to sea, he winds up with an intimation that this report is to be considered a discussion rather than an opinion. *Opposition*

I do not see how Government can well come to a final decision on any part of the subject on such a report; and as Mr. Woodhouse has, I believe, gone to sea, it appears to me a more full and distinct case should be drawn up by the Hon'ble Company's solicitor with every aid [which] the Secretary's Office can afford him, and [that] the opinion of the Advocate General of Bengal [be] requested thereon through the Supreme Government as far as Dhakji Dadaji, whilst acting as an officer of the British Government, may have unlawfully taken by colour of his office from any man money or thing of value that was not fairly due to him, or before it was due; which is the legal definition of extortion.

Whilst acting as an officer of the Gaikwad Government, his conduct must be as cognisable by that Government as that of a subject of the Gaikwad in the service of the British Government is amenable to British law; and it will, I should think, only be necessary effectually to remove any doubt or apprehension, Sayaji may possibly

feel, of offending the British Government by the exercise of this right. But if it should prove to be more regular for the Gaikwad to prosecute Dhakji Dadaji in His Majesty's Court here, Regulation 5 of 1813 may perhaps remove the impediment adverted to by the Hon'ble President. It is a regulation to enable the Governor-in-Council to institute a defence, through the medium of the public officers, of Government actions, in which Native Princes, whom it would be improper to require to appear as plaintiffs or defendants in the courts of judicature, may be parties, from the reluctance of those Princes or independent Chieftains etc.

No. 3. Minutes, 5th July.

Orders Ordered that the Secretary should prepare a report on the case of Dhakji Dadaji, that it may be submitted, if necessary, for the opinion of the Advocate General at Fort William.

1820 *Baroda, 30th May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 485)*

The Resident to the Bombay Government.

Letter I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of a letter I requested my Assistant, Mr. Willoughby, to address to Dhakji Dadaji on the subject of the different claims made by this Government against him.

Parekhs 2. The parekhs were at the Residency yesterday; and though apparently disinclined to make an early adjustment of their accounts with Dhakji, yet on being told that, if they did not abide by their agreement, I should represent the circumstance to my Government, they acquiesced and promised to make one in a day or two. I trust therefore in a few days Dhakji will be able to quit Baroda, for which His Highness appears particularly anxious.

Letter from James Willoughby to Dhakji Dadaji, dated 29th May.

Plain speaking With reference to the conversation which passed yesterday between M. Williams and yourself on the subject of the different demands made upon you by this Government, I have been instructed by that Gentleman to apprise you of his sentiments regarding the justice of the pretensions upon which they are grounded, after having communicated with His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad on the subject.

2. In respect to the first item, amounting to Rupees 1,13,000 (one lakh and thirteen thousand), demanded from you, Mr. Williams informed His Highness and the Bhau of your grounding your right to this sum on account of your having borne all the risk for the payment of the revenue, as well as on the grounds of its being included in the article of three lakhs, which formed one of the items sent to the Governor for his decision as to the legality or otherwise of your receiving it. To this His Highness and the Bhau replied that the sum was merely included in the three lakhs to show the sum total of their demands against you, but that this part of the item having been received by you, when in the capacity of Minister to His Highness, and as such of course no servant of the Hon'ble Company, they considered themselves at perfect liberty to demand it's being refunded.

3. In addition to the above, I have been directed to inform you that it has now come to the recollection of the Resident that at two interviews the Governor had with His Highness, it was agreed by the former that this sum should be refunded by you, and therefore to inform you that it must be immediately given back; and if in so doing you think yourself aggrieved, you can afterwards appeal to the Hon'ble the Governor, who will, if he considers you entitled to it, cause it hereafter to be repaid to you.

4. With respect to the two remaining items, viz 25,000 Rupees demanded on account of Malwa, and 8,000 Rupees panchotari, being a deduction usually made from the interest accumulating in Hindu accounts, these will be settled according to the custom observed by parekhs in cases similar to the present.

5. As soon as you have made a settlement of all your accounts with the parekhs, and mutual releases have been passed by both parties, I am instructed to inform you that the papers given by you to the Governor will be returned to you.

6. Regarding the claim you have advanced for receiving your deyta up to the date of your dismissal from the office of minister to this Government, I am directed to remind you that, although this certainly was once intended to have been granted to you, yet when the discussion which took place between the Hon'ble the Governor, the Resident and yourself, regarding the sum you would consent to receive as an equivalent for relinquishing your share in the potdari, you were found to be so shamelessly exorbitant in your demands, so disregardless of the impoverished state of the finances of this Government, and so unmindful of the advantages and emoluments you had derived from being employed by it, that it was not only proposed that your deyta should be taken from you, but that even your villages should be resumed.

7. This last measure however was not carried into effect, it being found out upon enquiry that they were granted in inam, and that it was not customary to take back lands holden of such a tenure, except in cases where the person holding them has been guilty of high treason or some other heinous crime.

8. From the above cause it was finally determined that you should be permitted to retain your villages, but to forfeit your deyta, which determination must now be abided by.

9. In conclusion I have been instructed to acquaint you that the Resident conceives any further communications unnecessary and to inform you that it is the wish of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad that you should quit Baroda as soon as possible.

Baroda, 8th June, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)

Dhakji Dadaji to James Willoughby.

1820

I have received your letter of the 5th instant, and I beg you *Dhakji's* will be pleased to inform the Resident that only at one time His High- *justified* ness Sayajirao Gaikwad sent to call me; this was also complained *[of]* *himself*

in the Resident's letter of the 21st ultimo, and I have explained in my answer on the 23rd following the reason of my not attending to him; from which the Resident, I think, was satisfied. He has been pleased to send for me and Vithalpant, clerk of the fadnavis, who attended on the part of this Government; where the Resident took down all the items that Government was demanding of me; that the items of 1,13,000 for hami, which the Resident told to Vithalpant to be struck off, as that item, he mentioned, is under the reference to the Hon'ble the Governor; and he has also directed him to credit me with the amount of my deyta up to the day of my dismissal. Upon the whole, the Resident was satisfied, I think, there would be [a] balance in my favour. The Resident also told Vithalpant to wait till I settle my account with my gumastha, who arrived with [the] Malwa account, and as soon as the Benares account is arrived, to settle finally. This has been the order of the Resident on the 28th ultimo. In such a case I am not to be blamed, I am continuing in this place only with the support of the Resident. You inform me that I am a subject to this Government, which I do not think to be the case; for I am the subject of the British Government, my short employment in his service does not make me his subject.

I would have replied to your former letter of the 29th ultimo; but I did not, as you have therein mentioned that further communications were unnecessary, and you have further mentioned that it is the wish of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad that I should quit Baroda as soon as possible.

I have in consequence of this order made my preparation accordingly to proceed to Bombay, and desired Krishnarao to apply to the Resident with my respect for [a] passport, who has been pleased to refer him to you, and you have given Krishnarao to understand that I cannot quit this place till I pay the amount claimed on me by this Government and pass my releases to the pottars. To this I have to observe that, even if I had gone to Bombay without paying the amount claimed by this Government (even had those claims been just, which is not the case), yet there was more than sufficient with the pottars to answer the Government demands, if legal. You direct me to refund 1,13,000 Rupees for the hami; and if I find [myself] aggrieved, I am afterward to appeal to the Hon'ble the Governor, who, if he considers I am entitled to it, the Resident will cause it hereafter to be repaid to me; and that my deyta the Hon'ble the Governor ordered should be taken from me. I do perfectly recollect from the conversation, held with His Honour [the President], the Resident and His Highness Sayajirao and myself at the palace of His Highness on the night His Honour was attended there, on the occasion of taking leave of His Highness to proceed back to Bombay, where it was settled after long discussion that the inam villages [were] to be continued to me, and the deyta (to be continued) only to be paid up to the day of dismissal, which, I hope, the Resident may be recollecting as well as His Honour; and notwithstanding the Resident even lately on the 28th ultimo gave [the] necessary order to Vithalpant to credit me

with that amount, which [*is*] mentioned in the first part of this letter, for this Government in justice must at least pay me up to the period I have served. I do not know, perhaps you might have [*heard*] of what the Resident told me previous to this settlement, that the Hon'ble the Governor proposed I should take the two-thirds of my allowances and to retire, but the same afterwards the Hon'ble the Government settled for one-third or only the inam villages, but nothing was said as to my arrears of deyta not being paid. In respect to the item of 1,13,000 Rupees, it is true as mentioned in your letter, that it had been included in the item of three lakhs of Rupees, and is under reference to the Hon'ble the Governor for his decision only in respect to the rate of hamī, which is complained of to be very exorbitant, consequently it cannot be paid; besides, you are mentioning that His Highness Sayajirao thinks that, as this sum being received by me when I was in the capacity of his Minister, and therefore he thinks that he is perfectly at liberty to demand its being refunded. Although I was his Minister at the time, but he never had the exclusive power, at that time; and nothing was done without the sanction or consent of the British Resident; and he is now demanding of me when he got that power; but at the time when I am not in that capacity; besides I was elected minister with the consent of the British Government.

The two remaining items vest 25,000 demanded on account of Malwa and 8,000 Rupees on account panchotari, the latter item is also an account of Malwa. However to the first item I am making my accounts with the Malwa gumashta, who has arrived here. As soon as I have finished with him, I shall be enable to answer to this. Relating to the second item, it mentions in your letter as follows: "being a deduction usually made from the interest accumulating upon the principal in Hindu accounts." This I beg leave to say is not always the case, for no like deduction has been made (since the reduction of the rate interest) in Hari Bhakti's and Ratanji Kandas' account; nor any mention has been made about the reduction in the written contract of the Malwa potdari; besides my accounts have been settled long ago, and passed with [*the*] Government seal. Had the Government any right to the panchotari, they would have demanded at that time.

As I am not well learned in the English language, nor I have any friends at this place to assist me in writing my case, or to give the required advice, without which the Government will not be convinced with my case, therefore my presence is very necessary in Bombay, where I shall have the advantage of personally explaining my case to the Hon'ble the Governor. I only hope that the Government will give me fair play. Besides, my remaining in this place is very disagreeable to me. I want now to think of my future prospects.

I have severally informed both you and the Resident that I have adjusted my accounts with the potdars, in which they have taken great advantage over me; but I cannot help [*it*]; by being helpless, I am obliged to submit, and I am ready to pass the mutual releases, provided

they pay me the money, which they neglect to do; and no release can be passed without the money being first paid.

I have not been exorbitant, I think, in respect of my demands for relinquishing my share in the potdari, as the Resident was informed, though rather moderate, for what has been settled to give in lumps, without making accounts for the two years, 1,75,000 Rupees. But for the one [first] year 1,25,000 Rupees and for the second 50,000 Rupees is by no means equivalent, nor will the Government suffer by what has been agreed to pay me; for it is to be borne by the potdars and not by the Government. Notwithstanding, I am ready to take my share for the two years more or less, as may appear by the writings, by making my accounts with them and take my chance. My writing with the potdars remained in the Resident's hands; and I have requested him to give them, or at least copies of them, but he never complied with my request. I am much in want of them, very particularly before I finish with my partners, as I am afraid perhaps I may commit some mistake in settling my accounts with them to my disadvantage; for I do not see any necessity of their being detained in his hands.

Upon the whole you will be pleased to direct the potdars to pay me the amount they owe me, and I am ready to execute releases as soon as they pay me, when I shall be ready to answer what I may be indebted to the Government.

1820 Baroda, 12th June, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)

Assistant Resident's account of meeting between Dhakji and his late partners.

Meeting of bankers With reference to my letter to your address of the 9th instant, I have the honour to report that yesterday I sent for Dhakji Dadaji, and the gumastha of his late partners in the potdari to follow up my endeavour to come to some adjustment of their accounts, Vithalrao Diwanji being likewise present. The reason of my not being able to assemble them on the 10th was in consequence of their scruples of coming on account of it being amavasi or an unlucky day.

2. Dhakji on this occasion advanced a claim for potdari or a remuneration for receiving and paying out the money advanced by Sir John Malcom. I told him I did not consider his claim for the above sum was admissible, in as much as I understand that potdari was never allowed, except for such sums as the persons, engaged in the business of the potdari, advanced themselves. To this he replied that he considered himself entitled to it on account of his having received the money, and of his having been at the trouble of paying it away. I then asked him if he had not already received some remuneration on this account from the deductions customarily made by the person he paid the money to. He acknowledged that he had, but that he was entitled to receive a further sum from the Gaikwad Government, the exact amount of which he did not know, but that he would inform me what it was after an examination of his accounts.

3. A long conversation took place between Dhakji and Vithalrao Diwanji upon the subject of the money claimed from him by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, in which nothing more was advanced on either side than what has already been reported to Government; but in conclusion Dhakji proposed that the money should be deposited in the treasury of the Residency until the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council should be made known upon each separate item.

4. The Diwanji objected to this proposal both on account of the delay this would occasion in the settlement of Dhakji's accounts as well as upon the ground that they were demanded by His Highness as his right, with which the Company, he considered, could not interfere. Regarding the right of interference the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be the best judge. I did not however (with a view to the system of administration lately established at Baroda) consider myself authorised to accede to Dhakji's request, but told him I did not consider it necessary that the money should be placed in deposit, as I did not think there was any doubt of his recovering the money again in the event of my Government thinking him fairly and justly entitled to it.

5. Dhakji's partners are gradually paying the balance in his favour against them, though they appear to take a much longer time in doing so than is requisite. I therefore urged them to complete their payments as soon as possible and reminded them of the promise they made to the Hon'ble the Governor, when at Baroda, to come to an immediate settlement of all their accounts; which promise must be faithfully observed by them; otherwise all other agreements, entered with them on the same subject, would of course be dissolved. Upon this they all agreed to do, as I wished, without delay.

No. 1. Letter from James Willoughby to Francis Warden, dated Baroda, 19th June, 1840.

I have the honour to forward a copy of another letter I wrote under the same authority to Dhakji together with his reply of the 8th instant. *Sayaji's request*

2. On the 8th instant. the day preceding Mr. Williams's departure from Baroda, I was present at a private interview that Gentleman had with Sayajirao, preparatory to his taking leave of His Highness. Amongst other subjects discussed, Dhakji's delay in settling his accounts and his remaining so long in Baroda was the principal. His Highness was particularly anxious upon this point, and requested Mr. Williams, if possible, to settle everything before he quitted Baroda, Mr. Williams however informed His Highness that he could not delay his departure any longer, that the lateness of the season rendered it necessary he should immediately set out on his way to Cutch, to take charge of the situation his Government had been pleased to nominate him to.

3. Upon this His Highness requested Mr. Williams to direct me to call the parties on the next day before me and to endeavour, if possible, to come to an adjustment of all Dhakji's accounts still remaining unsettled, and to see that mutual releases were passed between Dhakji and his late partners in the potdari.

Conversa-
tion with
Dhakji

4. Accordingly on the 9th instant I sent for Dhakji Dadaji, and the following conversation took place between us. After having explained to him fully the objects I had in view in sending for him, I repeated to him that the first item amounting to Rs. 1,30,000 must be refunded by him; to which he offered the same objection he did on a former occasion, that it was his right, on the plea of his having been security for the regular payment of the revenues, and in case of any default of this taking place, he would have had to pay the deficiency to Government. I replied [that] it was demanded from him by His Highness Sayaji in consequence of the exorbitant rate he took for being security, when there was little or no risk. I endeavoured to convince him that his money, being only given up subject to the final decision of the Hon'able the Governor-in-Council, was equally secure to him, as if he retained it in his own hands; for, should that decision be against him, he would then of course have to give it up; but should it be in his favour, he would receive it again from the Gaikwad Government. Finding all my endeavours unsuccessful, I felt it incumbent upon me to act upon the directions of Mr. Williams, conveyed to Dhakji in the 3rd paragraph of my letter to him, dated the 29th ultimo, and informed Dhakji the amount must be refunded to His Highness Sayaji with the above proviso being made.

5. In regard to the second item claimed against him by this Government on account of the Malwa potdari, Dhakji informed me that Government considered before the arrival of his (Dhakji's) gumashita from Mhow that he had received above 6 lakhs from Sir John Malcom; since which it has been discovered that the actual receipts were only something above 4 lakhs; adding that he had made a representation on the subject to the Gaikwad Government, but had as yet received no answer. I told him that this should be inquired into, and whatever was justly due from him, would only be demanded from him.

6. He again said the demand made against him on account of panchotari was unjust, not only on account of there being no stipulation to that effect in this agreement, but because no reduction on that account had been made from the other soukars engaged in any potdari since the reduction of the rate of interest from 12 to 9 per cent.

7. The customs of taking panchotari vary in different places; in some, it being customary to take it, whether stipulated or not, and which, I understand, is the case in Baroda; and in others in cases only where it is stipulated for. Dhakji cannot avail himself of the plea of the reduction in the rate of interest, in as much as the rate of the Malwa potdari is 12 per cent. or the former rate. This therefore being the case, I informed him that I considered the claim as good, and that it must be refunded.

8. With regard to the giving up the deyta formerly granted him by this Government, Dhakji stated that such an arrangement was never made by the Hon'ble the Governor. Being perfectly convinced that Sayaji would not consent to give these allowances, although from

the 14th paragraph of Mr. Williams' letter to your address, dated the 19th of May last, I find it stated that it was agreed to by His Highness that he should receive his allowances up to the date of his dismissal, I proposed to Dhakji that the point should be referred to the Hon'ble the Governor, who would doubtless order whatever had been settled by him, when at Baroda, strictly to be observed; to which he finally consented.

9. In conclusion I pressed upon Dhakji the advisability as well as the necessity of his quitting Baroda as soon as he could conveniently do so, not only on his own account, but because it was the wish of His Highness that he should do so, in which he acquiesced, and consented to leave this [place] as soon as the money, due to him from his late partners in the potdari, had been paid, (with the above deductions), and mutual releases had been given by both parties respectively.

10. On the same day I was visited by Vithalrao Diwanji, who again informed me how anxious His Highness was to have Dhakji's affairs settled, and added that the shroffs had already begun to pay Dhakji the balance in his favour against them. This I have since learnt is the case, and that Dhakji has received upwards of a lakh in part payment of his demands.

11. At the request of the Diwanji I agreed to call before me all the parties together, and I hope shortly to be able to report that a settlement has been made upon the above basis, which, I trust, will be considered consonant with justice to all parties.

No. 2. Letter from James Willoughby to Dhakji Dadaji, dated 5th June.

Mr. Williams having been informed that you will not attend the Darbar, although repeatedly ordered to do so by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, in order to facilitate a speedy adjustment of your accounts, I have been instructed by that Gentleman to call upon you for an explanation of the reason of your declining to obey His Highness's directions, and to request you will not continue to act in this manner any longer, as such conduct is likely to be prejudicial to your interests. *Warning, Dhakji*

In the event however of your still thinking proper to persist in the resolution not to [yield] to this request, I have been instructed to request you will send me an answer that such is your intention, in order that the Resident may make a final report regarding you to Government.

If on the other hand you experience any obstructions from your late partners in the potdari, which probably may be the case, you can mention them, and steps will be immediately taken to effect their removal, as it is not desired that any injustice should be done you; that at the same time it must be observed that His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad has a right to expect from you a due attention to his commands, not only on account of your now being his subject.,

but likewise on account of the great advantages you have derived from being employed in conducting the affairs of His Government.

1820 *Bombay, 5th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)*

At a Consultation. Report on the case of Dhakji.

Dhakji's case The charges which have been brought forward against Dhakji Dadaji are generally that he has improperly received, embezzled or exacted sums of money from the Gaikwad Government and its subjects, under colour or by means of the situation held by him of Native Agent and poldari (or treasurer) at Baroda.

It is necessary, before particularising the charges, to explain the nature of these situations, the understanding on which he obtained them, and the extent of the emoluments which they entitled him to receive.

Native agent The application from the Resident to be allowed to appoint Dhakji Native Agent in succession to Gangadhar Shastri was couched in the following terms, viz. (See Letter of 10th February, 1816).

"That the appointment, with which he proposed to invest Dhakji Dadaji, was that of medium of communication with the Darbar on the part of Resident, which was held by Gangadhar Shastri in addition to his appointment in the Gaikwad Government.

"The reasons, which have influenced my selection of Dhakji for this office, being intimately connected with public interests, the Right Honourable the Governor-in Council, will excuse my occupation of his time by a communication of them.

"The situation of Native Agent with this Darbar acquires importance and credit from the nature of the relations subsisting at this Court; and it constitutes an object of no ordinary solicitude that the man, who is appointed to such duties, combines an inviolable integrity with an aptitude of talents suited to the various situations in which he will be called upon to officiate.

"During some months I have myself undertaken the conduct of those details immediately with the departments of this Government, which have been formerly transacted through the channel of a respectable native. I should not have suggested the renewal of the situation alluded to from any personal labour which its duties entailed, but from an experience which showed that in many cases my personal interference by its frequency detracted from that ascendent degree of influence which, being exercised on seasonable occasions, is powerfully promotive of the public interests committed to my charge.

"It would be a difficult task, which no one perhaps in my situation would willingly undertake, to render an adequate description of the peculiar duties devolving on me by the age and experience of Fate-sing, the bias of his disposition and principles and the poverty of capacity in the present members of the Gaikwad Government. It has successively lost those able ministers, Raoba, Madhavrao Tatya, Babaji and Gangadhar Shastri, whose abilities and great local knowledge,

added to their years and established reputation, gave them such decided advantages. It has been the lot of this State to lose such servants when its difficulties were in their vigour, that they should be succeeded by others of inferior understanding to act in a Government just emerging from the minority of its sovereign.

"The knowledge, which I have obtained of Fatesing in his administration of affairs, has conduced also to my suggestion for the appointment of Dhakji. His Highness, under the impressions he has acquired of his power, particularly since the course of discussions at Poona and the death of the Shastri, has given loose to those propensities which are common to all Marathas. Their general education infuses a laxity of public principles, which can be traced in every action connected with the administration of government; and the operation of such principles is destructive of the system we have established, at Baroda.

"I may not be considered to digress from the intent of this address by rendering to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, two examples, perhaps of many, illustrative of the disposition of Fatesing. A fraud was discovered by Vithoba Bhau in the revenue accounts of the Surat athavisi and made known to him. Fatesing was apprised of the circumstance in the course of business at his Darbar, and he promised him very fairly to institute a rigid inquiry. This however His Highness took diligence in effectually defeating by the influence of the others, who, it is presumed, were biassed by sinister views.

"The other instance is however more important, in as much as His Highness did not succeed. A jamadar of consequence, who had for many years farmed the district of Devgaum, he had reason to believe, had not discharged his trust with fidelity. Information was brought and security offered to prove it, of the jamadar having embezzled a large amount of revenue. The parties, being wealthy zamindars of Devgaum, having offered to deposit in the treasury of the Government the sum of 30,000 Rupees to be forfeited in case of their failure in fixing the fraud on the jamadar, Fatesing was made acquainted with the case in its precise details. He declared his intention to make the jamadar refund his ill-gotten gains, but betrayed a reluctance of going further. It was obvious however from subsequent circumstances that His Highness was not acting sincerely. The jamadar denied the charge and refused to pay the money even on condition of holding his farm. This necessarily led to my suggestion for his being removed, in order that the parties might prove his delinquency, and to this indispensable step Fatesing gave his assent. According to the Regulations a person assuming a mamlat is compelled to render money security for the stipulated amount of revenue. Interested favourites however took clandestine means of deterring the soukars from engaging in the transaction; and when the mamlat was to be changed, no person could be found to participate in it. A little inquiry laid the whole scheme in my view, and it became essential that in this important instance we should crush a combination to defeat the public service.

"It was my intention to have urged the removal of the jamadar at any expense, but luckily this disagreeable duty was precluded by the party receiving the mamlat having obtained the requisite money security from Ahamadabad, which left Fatesing no plea for hesitating to execute his original declarations.

"In this issue an undue influence became defeated, and lately the jamadar has communicated privately to Vithoba Bhau his readiness to pay an additional revenue of 20,000 Rupees, if placed in charge of the district of Devgaum. These overtures sufficiently prove his implication in improper acts, and authorise a belief that it has been carried to a greater extent than at present asserted. His removal, with the circumstances attending, will, I trust, have a beneficial effect, but it has certainly attracted considerable observation among all classes at this capital.

"These statements are submitted to show the necessity of a Native Agent. An intimate acquaintance, a daily and familiar communication with all ranks of people, which could be afforded to a person professing the same religion and habits of life, are the advantages which we derive by an office of that description. Relatively with Fatesing it has a particular value by securing a constant and vigilant superintendence of his interested favourites. But all its advantages are dependent on the character of the man. Unless he is above the temptations to which he would be exposed by the venality of the natives, the worst consequences would result from his intimate participation in the affairs subsisting between the Governments of the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad. The character of Dhakji, I presume, has stood the test of long observation. Being in the possession of a handsome property is an additional recommendation in his favour by leaving no solid reason for his swerving from a rigid and honest discharge of his duties.

"It cannot be supposed that an allowance of 150 Rupees per month (or 250, if Government is pleased to grant the palanquin) could be the main inducement for a respectable native to accept the appointment in question. It is in the first instance the well-grounded and natural hope that under the superintendence of the British Government any important exertions, which he may have made for its honour or the interests or those of its ally, will meet with reward, and that the chance of its notice and patronage confers an honourable distinction among the native community.

"In the instance of the Shastri, but more particularly in the case of the Native Agent of the British Residency at Poona, the late Cursetji Modi, these persons were not circumscribed to the original denomination of service. The Shastri rose by his abilities to the most distinguished situation in this Government; and the Modi, having acquired the confidence of the Peshwa, engaged in transactions of mahals and continued his commercial dealings. These circumstances bestowed on them additional capacity to promote the service of the Company and opened a field to their honest pursuits in life.

"Having thus stated the grounds on which my application for Dhakji Dadaji has been preferred and the nature of his appointment in all its bearings, I have now to apologise for the prolixity of this letter, and to request the commands of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council."

The assent of the Government was conveyed in the following terms viz. "That under the explanation, afforded by Captain Carnac, the late Government acceded to the appointment of Dhakji Dadaji as the medium of communication with the Baroda Darbar, and that he was allowed a salary of 250 Rupees per mensem as proposed by the Resident."

The appointment of Dhakji as poldar to the Gaikwad Government arose from the desire and endeavours of the Resident to lower the rate of interest payable on advances made from the poldars of the Government. Dhakji came forward "to offer terms for such advances through his own means or those of others", by which the interest would be reduced from 12 to 9 per cent. The Resident recommended their acceptance, and the Government entirely approved of the measure. *Occasion of appointment*

The poldari was before vested in Hari Bhakti under the Company's guarantee, and the terms of the agreement, to which it will be requisite particularly to attend, were that all the Revenue collections of the Gaikwad countries, districts, etc. were to be deposited with him. That he was to pay all orders for money drawn on him by the Government for the expenses of the State. That half of the profits of the poldari were to be paid yearly to the State. These are represented by Colonel Walker to accrue from the deduction of 2 per cent. under the denomination of poldari from the payments to the troops.

Hari Bhakti was at the same time vested with the mamlatdari of Baroda, which mahal according to Colonel Walker yielded nearly 1/5 of the revenue of the whole State.

His Highness Fatesing accepted the offers of Dhakji after the approbation of this Government had been signified.

The soukars appear to have combined at first to defeat the reduction in the interest, but at length the house of Hari Bhakti and Mairal Narayan also offered the same terms.

Fatesing having expressed to Dhakji his desire that they should be associated with him in providing the loans from the poldari, an arrangement to that effect was executed in public Darbar, and a new contract under the Company's bhandari, in lieu of the former one at the higher rate of interest, was drawn out in the name of Hari Bhakti binding on the parties if necessary for five years for all advances incident to the Government demands at Baroda.

On the 5th March, 1817, the Government expressed its satisfaction with these arrangements.

Minister It is unnecessary here to advert to the proceedings which led to the appointment of Dhakji in the month of July 1819 to be His Highness's principal minister, on the condition of his resigning as he did his place of Native Agent.

Charges The articles of charge against Dhakji Dadaji were delivered by His Highness Sayajirao to the Hon'ble the Governor whilst at Baroda in the month of March last.

Dhakji acknowledged his having received the sum, to which he asserted his title on Captain Carnac's letter above noticed of the 10th February, 1816, and he has since given in written replies to the charges, which he had been required to answer.

First charge *First charge:* The first charge against Dhakji is that he received Rupees 2,75,000 from the Gaikwad as brokerage (dalali) in 1873. (1816/17). It is added after the charge that in the report this was accounted for by charging Rupees 2,30,000 as outstanding in Mahi Kantha and 45,000 as paid into the treasury.

Dhakji in his reply to this charge alleges that the amount was credited to his account in the potdari ("and it may have been debited in the way alleged") by the written order of the Gaikwad Government, and also finally sanctioned by it on the settlement of the potdari accounts for the year. He asserts this dalali to be usual, and that it was paid to his predecessor in one or more instances.

Dhakji alleges that he was at liberty to receive this sum on the ground of Captain Carnac's letter of the 10th February, 1816, and also on the ground of another dispatch from Captain Carnac, in which the intention of His Highness Fatesing is signified "making him a reward for the important savings which his agency had effected." Of this intention no notice was taken by the Government in the reply to Captain Carnac's letter.

Williams on this charge observes that his (Dhakji's) predecessor received at one time 80,000 Rupees to pay his former debts, and that "on the introduction of the Gaikwad reforms he was paid brokerage, on account of his services in carrying them through, about a lakh of Rupees; but that this was previously sanctioned by the Supreme Government, and was evidently different from the clandestine manner in which Dhakji appears to have received what he calls brokerage." He does not believe that the Resident was acquainted with the circumstance.

Explanation of the charge. From the scanty information on these records it is impossible to know in what manner this transaction may appear on the different public accounts at Baroda, whether in fact there are any accounts of money transactions of the Government besides those framed in the potdari, and from which those of the Resident may be prepared. The meaning to be gathered from the wording of the charge with its subsequent remark is that in the public accounts (wherever framed) no such transaction appeared; but that, for the sum of Rupees 2,75,000, taken by or given to Dhakji, revenue

to the extent of Rupees 2,30,000 actually collected from Mahi Kantha was inserted, as still outstanding, and that Rupees 45,000 was inserted as paid into the treasury (from what source is not stated), whereas in fact no such payment was actually made.

On referring to the debit side of the statement of receipts and disbursements for 1873 (1816/17) forwarded by the Resident in his report of 22nd February, 1819, the item of 2,30,000 Rupees is inserted as outstanding from Mahi Kantha. The other item of 45,000 Rs. cannot be traced.

Remarks by the Advocate General: The Advocate General cannot say what character is to be ascribed to the above charge. On this charge and on the charges in general he doubts whether he has been able to attain from the documents before him a correct notion of the pecuniary transactions on which they are founded.

If the sums were received by him as potdar, could he accept that office as well as that of Native Agent, and if so, were the receipts according to usage or expressly sanctioned? The first question will appear, from what has been before stated, to be answered in the affirmative; and the second, in the negative. The charges, it is clear, would not have been preferred, had the sum taken been either usual or sanctioned, even so the Gaikwad is now disposed to deny.

Second charge: The second charge is as follows: 4,00,000 Rupees was due to the pagadars at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement. They got nothing till the settlement in 1873, when it was settled they should be content with 2,11,000 Rs.; of this Dhakji kept 1,90,000 to himself, charging that 1,80,000 Rs. was paid to Fatesing's creditors, who are to this day unpaid; and 10,000 to some other account.

Explanation: From this it appears that out of a sum of 4,00,000 Rs. due to the pagas it was settled with them in 1873 that they were only to receive 2,11,000 Rs.; and it is to be inferred that even of this sum they were only paid 21,000 Rupees; that 1,80,000 Rs. of the amount were charged in the potdari's public accounts or private books, as paid to Fatesing's creditors, who are not actually paid; and that the remaining 10,000 was carried to some other head of disbursements.

Dhakji's defence: Dhakji in answer to this charge says that he knows nothing of the manner in which these entries were made, because the potdari was in the name and the management in the hands of Hari Bhakti. Though a partner with Hari, his name did not appear in the writing; and he goes on to say that on inquiry he finds that Rs. 2,11,000 was credited by Hari in his books to Fatesing; but he cannot say whether with the intention of paying his creditors or not. "His Highness might never have intended to pay the pagadars." Dhakji however adds that on his agreeing to supply the Government with money at 9 per cent., in consequence of Bhakti's refusal of these terms, Bhakti applied to Fatesing, with whom he made a settlement. Fatesing then offered

him (Dhakji) 1,50,000 Rupees on Bhakti's part in lieu of a part of his (Dhakji's) profit, and Bhakti was to have a half share in the potdari. The 1,50,000 Rs. was, it appears, taken from the above sum; and Bhakti's account of the whole 2,11,000, Dhakji adds, have been rendered to, and passed by, the Gaikwad.

Opinion of Mr. Woodhouse: Mr. Woodhouse remarks that this second transaction seems to be of a very equivocal kind. He considers it to be a premium for the admission of Bhakti as a partner in the potdari. He does not know whether it had the sanction of Captain Carnac or the Government, or whether it was consistent with Dhakji's obligations to this Government or with the views with which his appointment was sanctioned, Mr. Woodhouse seems to think it a combination between Dhakji and Hari to misappropriate the funds of the Gaikwad; and he cannot at all understand the transaction in as far as Fatesing is made to take an active part in it. He considers the amount to be recoverable from Dhakji, either here in the Recorder's Court, or at Baroda.

Consequent remarks: From Dhakji's reply to this charge it seems clear that he means an inference should be drawn that a consideration was given to Fatesing by Bhakti for his readmission into the potdari, besides the 1,50,000 which he (Dhakji) himself received.

But whether this was actually the case, whether His Highness was privy to the entries in the accounts and, for an immediate sum supplied to him by Bhakti or other reasons, consented to the sacrifice of the public interests, it will remain with the authorities at Baroda to show, if it can indeed be done at this late period. That so large a sum as 1,80,000 Rupees should be entered in the public accounts as paid to Fatesing's creditors without his knowing the circumstance, appears however to be almost impossible. The Resident would no doubt have made particular inquiries into such a disbursement, and the matter would have come to light.

In the accounts for 1873, already referred to, nothing can be traced of these transactions, and some further light on the matter seems to be required from Baroda.

Third charge: The 3rd charge against Dhakji is as follows:—
Colonel Walker fixed 8 annas a year as commission for being security for revenue (hami). Dhakji used to take arbitrarily as far as 2 per cent, so that in 3 years, when his whole receipts should have been 25,000 Rupees a year, or 75,000 in all, he took 3,00,000 Rupees.

Explanation: The meaning of this charge would seem to be that the farmers of the revenue being obliged to give security to the Government of its payment, Dhakji, who became that security, exacted from them 2 per cent, instead of 8 annas, the usual rate, and realised in 3 years 3 lakhs of Rupees, when he should have received only Rupees 75,000, whilst the farmers exacted the difference from the ryots.

Dhakji's defence. Dhakji in reply alleges that he was unacquainted with the rate settled by Colonel Walker. Whatever the ikamavisdar might pay for such security, he could only charge the

Government 8 annas, and he might reimburse himself for the difference by raising the revenue on the ryots. "The charge, if wrong, should have been stopped the first year. He would have discontinued had a lower rate been offered."

Mr. Woodhouse's opinion. Mr. Woodhouse is inclined to think this must be also an [un]authorised receipt. He is ignorant of the nature of the transaction. He cannot say whether he should be considered as holding it for the Gaikwad or British Government. If the Gaikwad, he has the remedies noticed in the second charge; and if the British Government, the Recorder's Court.

Consequent remarks; It is almost impossible to know either from the charge or the defence what is the practice at Baroda in respect to this security. If the farmer of the revenues has to give security to the Government for the payment of the sum at which he has taken the farm, it seems a transaction of a curious nature to debit the Government with any part of the amount he has to pay for such security, although he might take it into his calculation in his original tender for the farm. It might be expedient to receive some further information on this subject from Baroda.

Fourth charge: The 4th charge is as follows: In 1873 Dhakji charged 2 per cent. per annum premium (manuti) on a sum of 23,00,000 Rs. paid to bankers, although he had assignments (varats) for the amount, and was not to pay the bankers until it was realised. He has not as yet given his partner in the potdari credit for his share of this sum. *Fourth charge*

Explanation: From this it would appear that Dhakji as potdari paid sums, due to certain bankers, on the public account to the extent of 13,00,000 and charged a premium on the whole of 2 per cent.

He having received assignments on the revenues for the amount, these were first to be realised, before the bankers were paid, by which the premium of 2 per cent. would have been saved to the public. That he has not credited Bhakti, his partner, for any part of it.

Dhakji alleges in reply that in transactions of this kind the potdari is entitled not only to a premium, but to the potdari and one month's interest; but that in this case the premium was only charged to the Government. That the amount has been allowed by Fatesing in passing the accounts. He only claims half, and supposes he has only been credited to that extent. His partner has a just claim to the other half.

Bombay, 9th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 487)

1820

Francis Warden to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

2. The indistinctness and inconsistency of His Highness Sayaji's language regarding Dhakji's alleged embezzlements has created a *wavering* degree of embarrassment, which must now be cleared away.

3. His Highness must be informed that the British Government will readily admit of his recovering from Dhakji any sums which

appear to have been unjustly appropriated by that person; but that it must beg His Highness to say at once whether it is his intention to recover those sums or not. If His Highness goes on alternately renouncing and reviving his claims, the means of ascertaining the truth will be lost, and the British Government drawn into embarrassments from its duties towards His Highness on the one hand, and its guarantee of Dhakji's safety on the other.

4. Should His Highness Sayaji express his wish to recover the money embezzled, which, it is to be hoped, he will do, it will rest with Government as guarantee of Dhakji's safety to decide how far the Gaikwad is to be allowed to proceed against him; and this must depend on the justice of his claims.

Dhakji's case 5. In discussing the justice of the Gaikwad's claims it is to be observed that Dhakji held at first the appointment of Native Agent to the Resident, that he was afterwards potdar or treasurer to the Gaikwad, and afterwards Prime Minister to the same Prince.

6. In the first of these offices he was precluded from receiving any present from the Gaikwad, and his emoluments would have been limited to his salary of 250 Rupees if it were not for a paragraph of Captain Carnac's letter (approved by Government), in which he is stated to expect that "under the superintendence of the British Government any important exertion, he might have made for its honour or interests or those of its ally, would meet with reward". The approbation of Government to this paragraph entitled him to expect that some reward would be conferred on him in addition to his pay, but it does not give the slightest countenance to the Native Agent's receiving presents from the Gaikwad without its knowledge.

7. The acquiescence of the British Government in the appointment of the Native Agent to be potdar and afterwards minister to the Gaikwad authorised him to receive the allowances of those offices: but there can be no doubt that he was still bound previously to inform the British Government of any gratuity offered by the Gaikwad, which he was desirous to receive. Any pecuniary present received without its knowledge might fairly be suspected to be a bribe to betray its interests. These remarks refer to Dhakji's relation to the British Government, distinct from the Gaikwad, as Native Agent to the former. But the British Resident was the leading member of the Commission of Government by which all the affairs of the Gaikwad State were conducted; and it was his especial right and duty to watch over all items of expenditure. The principal duty of his Native Agent was to assist him in this and to prevent any extravagant or fraudulent charges from passing unnoticed. In this view the Native Agent was to be a check on Fatesing Carnac's letter of the 10th February, 1816, recommending Dhakji, as those which that person might be expected to perform with peculiar fidelity.

8. Besides these duties towards the British Government, Dhakji was bound to the Gaikwad to administer his affairs honestly and economically, as far as depended on him; and it was his peculiar duty to furnish him with accounts of his receipts and disbursements.

9. The Governor-in-Council proceeding to examine the different charges against Dhakji, with the view of deciding how far his conduct was consistent with the view that has been taken of his duty, remarks that the first charge is for taking 2,75,000 Rupees under the name of brokerage from the Gaikwad Government and falsely charging it in the accounts as partly outstanding in Mabi Kantha and partly paid into the treasury. Dhakji acknowledges to have received this sum from Fatesing as a reward for his services. If this were done without the knowledge of the British Resident, the receipt of such a sum would be corrupt in Dhakji as a servant of the British Government. As a servant of the Gaikwad State, the mere receiving it, even from a private person, would be suspicious, if not culpable; but to receive it from the public treasury was little less than a robbery; and to charge it falsely in the public accounts was a complicated piece of perfidy, equally a violation of faith on the part of Dhakji as potdar, whose business it was to prepare true accounts, and as British Agent whose duty it was to detect any false charges.

10. There are two assertions which Dhakji brings forward in his own defence, that he received the money from Fatesing, and that he received it with the permission of Captain Carnac. The first assertion is not proved; and it is no defence, if it were true; for Fatesing was only one member of the Commission which acted on the part of his brother, Anandrao, and had no more right to give away the public money than Dhakji himself who was another member. The second assertion would not be a complete defence either; for the British Resident, though the ruling member of the Commission of Government, was not of himself empowered to authorise the alienation of the public treasure. This, Dhakji from his situation was as well aware of, as he was of the nature of Captain Carnac's functions as Resident; so that, even if he had obtained Captain Carnac's consent, he must have known from the suppression of the circumstance in his reports and from the falsification of the accounts that Captain Carnac was not then acting as the organ of the British Government, but as an associate of his own combining with him to deceive it.

11. But there is every reason to think that Captain Carnac was entirely unacquainted with the whole transaction. He never reported it to the Government. His conversation gave Captain Barnwall every reason to disbelieve his knowledge of it. The whole scope of his letters, recommending promotion and rewards to Dhakji, implies that no reward had yet been conferred on him; and finally, the falsification of the accounts, which would have been quite unnecessary, if Captain Carnac had agreed to the expenditure, is a certain proof that it was necessary to conceal it from him no less than from both Governments. For these reasons the Governor-in-Council considers Dhakji's appropriation of the 2,75,000 Rupees fraudulent and corrupt, and the Gaikwad ought therefore to be permitted and even encouraged to take it back.

12. The 2nd charge is for receiving 1,90,000 Rupees, which was falsely charged as paid to the creditors of Fatesing. Dhakji's defence is that he received 1,50,000 from Fatesing in compensation for a share of the potdari, which he gave up to Hari Bhakti; the remaining 40,000 Rupees he denies to have received. Almost all the objections to Dhakji's conduct in the first charge apply also to this, and the Gaikwad should be allowed to recover the money; Dhakji retaining his right to recover the value of the potdari from Hari Bhakti to whom the share was transferred.

13. The 3rd charge is for exacting an unusual percentage from the farmers of revenue as a commission in return for becoming security to Government for their making good their payments. Dhakji's defence is that the amount he took was not more than was required to cover the risk he ran. But there is every reason to believe he ran no risk; for in all cases where the farmers were so rich as to require no security at all, counter security was given to Dhakji; so that he in reality was answerable to the Government for nothing which was not already secured by the wealth of the farmers or by the security they had given. The whole of his commission was therefore a useless expense; and it must have fallen on the State, as the farmer must either have deducted the amount from the payments to Government, or have exacted it from the ryots.

14. Before however it can be determined how much Dhakji should repay under this head, or whether he should repay anything, it is necessary to ascertain: 1st, what was the security usually given to the Gaikwad Government; 2nd, what was the rate paid as commission to the person who gave the security and 3rd, whether, if any alterations were introduced in the system or into the rate, it were done by Dhakji of his own authority or with the sanction of the Commission of Government. You will be pleased to report on those questions.

15. The 4th charge is for charging 2 per cent. commission and payment of 2,30,000 Rupees, although he had only to receive Government money and to pay it away. Our agents however would charge a percentage in a similar case, and it depends on the custom of Baroda whether 2 per cent. be extravagant or otherwise; a point in which you will be pleased also to report.

16. There are two other charges mentioned in Mr. Willoughby's letter, dated the 9th ultimo: one regarding the money borrowed in Malwa, and one relating to some commission called panchotari; neither of which are sufficiently explained for the Governor-in-Council to give an opinion on them. You will therefore afford a fuller explanation on these charges.

17. There is another question between Dhakji and the Gaikwad Government, viz. whether the former ought to be paid his deyta (which is understood to be his allowance as Diwan). Whatever may have been Dhakji's merits as a servant of the Gaikwad, there can be no doubt that he should be paid as long he served, although of course, not at present. The intention of taking away his allowances and even

his villages, alluded to in Mr. Willoughby's letter, has never meant to have a retrospective effect.

Fort William, 17th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)

1820

Charles Metcalf to Francis Warden.

2. The Governor-General-in-Council cordially concurs in the principles established by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council for future management of our relations with the Gaikwad State and with a single exception in the arrangements prescribed in conformity to those principles.

*Dhakji's
future*

3. The only point, on which His Lordship entertains doubts, is with regard to the provision settled on Dhakji Dadaji. His Lordship is not satisfied that person is deserving of any provision. It appears that further complaints have been brought forward against him, which are still under investigation; and His Lordship concludes that, if the result shall tend to confirm the presumptive evidence of misconduct already against him, he will be deemed unworthy of the provision at present assigned to him.

Minute, 20th July, 1820.

Ordered that the following reply be returned by the Chief Secretary, and that the requisite communication be also made to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

Orders

Baroda, 9th July, 1820 (1820, P.D. 488.)

1820

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

At the time of my arrival at the Residency the affairs of the late Minister, Dhakji Dadaji, were brought nearly to a conclusion, and nothing seemed likely to prevent his leaving Baroda in a few days, an event which His Highness Sayajirao appeared anxious should speedily take place.

*Dhakji's
affairs*

2. Some demands had been brought forward by His Highness against Dhakji, amounting altogether to about Rupees (1,75,000) one lakh and seventy-five thousand; and His Highness having sent a vakil to the Residency to ascertain the best means of obtaining the money from Dhakji, it was settled that Dhakji's late partners in the potdari should deduct this amount from the sum agreed to be paid by them to Dhakji, and that, on a day to be fixed for the final settlement of his concerns, Dhakji, his partners and an agent from the Darbar should attend at the Residency for the purpose of again investigating and settling the amount due to the Gaikwad.

3. I afterwards heard from His Highness's vakil that two lakhs of Rupees had been deducted on the above account by Dhakji's partners. I informed the vakil that, although this was more than could be necessary, and more than was agreed upon, yet that this could be of no consequence, provided that the next day, which, it was arranged, should be the day of settlement, Dhakji's partners would attend prepared immediately to pay to him such sum as should be due.

*Fatesing's
change of
policy*

4. The next day, about the 23rd June, Dhakji came to the Residency before any of the others; but he had scarcely arrived before he was summoned to the Raja. He asked my permission to go, and as he could be of no use by himself, I gave it to him. I did not see him again afterwards, and in two or three days it was generally stated and understood that his transactions were closed.

5. On a consideration of the instructions, laid down for the guidance of, the Residency, I did not think that the present occurrence, however unexplained on the part of the Raja, imposed upon me any necessity to interfere in any shape, the more especially as neither the Raja nor Dhakji, the only persons concerned, seemed now to desire my interposition; and I had no doubt besides that Dhakji's departure in a day or two would set at rest every conjecture about him or his affairs.

6. In a few days however it began to be rumoured that Dhakji's agent Umia Shankar had been admitted to a conference with the Raja, and afterwards it was stated with confidence that Dhakji had been received with some attention at the palace.

7. I think that I ought at this time to have privately requested His Highness to consider whether his character for consistency and for that determination to discountenance criminal conduct which he could not but entertain, was not likely to be injured by these marks of returning favour of Dhakji and Umia Shankar.

8. The short period however of my intercourse with Sayaji made me unwilling to obtrude any advice upon him, unless it was first asked. I was in hopes that His Highness would make some communication to me upon the subject, but in this expectation I was disappointed.

9. Yesterday myself and the other gentlemen of the Residency attended at the Darbar upon the occasion of the ceremony of the twelfth day after the birth of his daughter, when to my surprise Dhakji came forward and after making his obeisance seated himself in the Darbar.

10. It seems to me therefore that I cannot any longer refrain from speaking to His Highness on this subject. The investigation, which took place into this man's conduct was carried on by Sayajirao's desire entirely through our medium, and he was removed from his situation upon the conviction of the British Government as well as the Raja that he had conducted himself ill. Allowing Sayaji therefore every liberty to sport with his own character, he can have no right to injure ours, which must, I conceive, be the consequence of his admitting Dhakji to a public Darbar, at which I am to be present; more particularly as no reason whatever has been assigned to me by His Highness for the change in his conduct towards that individual.

11. The real motive to this change is undoubtedly to be found in those sordid feelings, which seem to exert a constant and invincible sway over Sayaji's mind. He was anxious to effect Dhakji's downfall.

at least as much from an expectation of gaining money by it as from any other cause; and after having obtained all that he can hope for from that occurrence (and this we may conclude is more than is publicly known, or how is present demeanour to Dhakji to be accustomed for?), he is now endeavouring to search out a further source of profit by obtaining through the medium of Dhakji or Umia Shankar, or anyone whatever, a knowledge of former malpractices of the Bhau. With this prospect of gain in view, he is content to act in a manner which he must feel to be degrading to himself, in receiving at his Darbar a man whose conduct he has publicly condemned.

12. That the maladministration of His Highness's Ministers constitutes a proper subject for his inquiries can admit of no doubt, any more than that he may expect from the Resident any advice or assistance in conducting it, which he may request; but it should be carried on with more regularity and formality than at present are discoverable, and with a greater regard to the dignity of his station and to his reputation for correct feeling and consistency of conduct.

13. The present system of intrigue is attended with great inconvenience. In the transaction of public business the Raja has at this moment no one to whom he will entrust the conduct of the most trifling duty. Everything must be done in his presence, nor is there any Minister who can take upon himself to settle the most insignificant affair by virtue of his office.

14. If this were done from His Highness's activity of mind, from a peculiar aptitude for business, or from a desire to learn, there would be no cause for regret; but this is certainly not the case. It is ascribable to a wish to protract business and especially to put off the settlement of any question which may occasion a money payment, and to a fear that his Ministers will not attend sufficiently to his interests.

15. This inactivity and want of confidence of the part of the Raja generate in the Ministers a listlessness and languor in the performance of their duties, which cannot be exceeded. In fact, indolence is the only alternative left to them, when they know that delay in complying with any request, however obviously just and regular, is far less likely, than a ready attention to it, to meet with censure, when they are sensible that they do not possess that weight, which would enable them to perform their duty with effect.

16. The Diwanji seems to possess the greatest share of Sayaji's confidence; and when Mr. Williams left Baroda, it was his expectation that His Highness would appoint him to be Dhakji's successor. He has however never hinted to me that this is his intention. He certainly employs him on almost every occasion in preference to the Bhau, who seems to be seldom entrusted with any business, and when employed evinces that inactivity, which cannot but result from the circumstances in which he is placed at present.

Minutes, 25th July.

Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the *Order* Governor-in-Council deems it unnecessary that he should interfere

further than by apprising Dhakji and His Highness the Gaikwad that on completing the settlement of the accounts of the former the British Government is no longer guarantee either of his person or property, which shall be considered to terminate in ten days after such completion.

1820 Baroda, 12th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Dhakji at Darbar Agreeably to what I stated to be my intention in my letter of the 9th instant I waited upon His Highness Sayajirao this morning and explained to him the impropriety of his having allowed Dhakji to be admitted into public Darbar of the 8th instant. His Highness declared that he had not invited him, but that Dhakji had attended of his own accord. He admitted that his appearance there was improper and promised that the thing should not happen again. I asked His Highness if he knew what now detained Dhakji at Baroda. He said that he did not; that Dhakji, so far as he knew, had settled his concerns; and that he knew no reason why he should not take his departure. I said that I would write to Dhakji; and to this, His Highness expressed his assent.

2. It is needless to observe at any length upon this occurrence. The matter was of such importance as to render it necessary for me to show any distrust of the truth of what His Highness said; but the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will not fail to consider how very improbable it is that, whilst it is a particular officer's duty to invite people to the Darbar on all occasions, a person, situated as Dhakji is, should have ventured to appear there without an invitation.

Minutes, 26th July.

Orders Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council approves of the proceedings reported in the above dispatch, but that no further measures are deemed necessary beyond directed in the communication made him under yesterday's date.

1820 Baroda, 17th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Letter On the 13th instant Mr. Willoughby at my request addressed a letter to Dhakji Dadaji, a copy of which is enclosed, upon the subject of his stay at Baroda, after all his affairs were according to public report settled. No answer has yet been received from Dhakji; but I was yesterday informed by a relative of his that his accounts with his partners in the potdari are not yet finally closed, although his concerns with the Gaikwad Government are brought to a conclusion.

Using Dhakji 2. To-day I waited upon His Highness Sayajirao; after some conversation on trifling matters chiefly regarding accounts between the Residency and the Gaikwad Government, His Highness said that he wished to ask my advice upon a subject of great importance and likely to produce great advantage to his Government. He alluded, he

said, to the information which he was sure would be gained from Dhakji relative to the embezzlements of others and to the frauds practised by soukars upon the Government; and he wished to have my opinion whether, previously to Dhakji's departure, which he heard I was urging, an inquiry should not be made upon these points. I told His Highness that I should always be happy to give him my advice whenever he might request it, but that in the present instance I could not give it immediately; that I must first be enabled to form some idea of the extent of these speculations and frauds, which Dhakji could bring to light, and of the evidence which there was to prove them; that, without being acquainted with the particulars of the present case and giving my opinion upon general principle, I should say that it was not becoming in His Highness to listen to accusations against others, upon the faith of a man in whom he had declared that he placed no confidence. I then said that I would take an opportunity of seeing Dhakji, after which I would give him my opinion. His Highness assented to this, but recommended that, in case Dhakji did not discover what he expected, he should be made to take an oath, but I did not think it proper to consent to it.

3. I then asked him why, if he had had any idea that Dhakji could furnish this information, and had wished to avail himself of it, he had not brought the subject into public notice at the time when the Hon'ble the Governor was at Baroda, when all Dhakji's transactions were investigated. He said that there was then so much other business to attend to that there was no time for this, and afterwards added that he was at that time ignorant of the matter which had been since brought to his notice by papers which he had seen. I asked to what papers he alluded; and he said first to a memorandum given in lately by Hari Bhakti, claiming an old balance of interest to the amount of upwards of a lakh of Rupees, a demand which proved to be fraudulent, as on investigation a writing was found, which had been passed by Hari Bhakti in Fatesing's time, declaring this demand to have been settled; and secondly [he alluded] to other fraudulent demands by Ratanji Kandas and others, I requested His Highness at the time, as he had asked my advice, to tell me all that he knew, as well as how it had come to his knowledge. He said that he knew no more; and when I asked him if he had not learned anything through Dhakji, he declared that he had not.

I afterwards took my leave. During the interview the Diwanji and a karkun of the Raja's were present; and Sayaji now and then appealed to them to say whether he was not right, otherwise they did not speak.

4. Upon the request made by His Highness that I would give him my advice on the subject above-mentioned, I felt in doubt what answer would be most proper; because, if it was undesirable on the one hand to become concerned in the internal cabals and intrigues of the Darbar, yet the present might turn out to be a fit subject of inquiry. This consideration determined me to say that, after seeing Dhakji, I would decide; in which, I trust that I shall have conformed to the sentiments of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

5. The Raja spoke chiefly of soukars as being the persons whose 'frauds were likely to be discovered, but he always made use of some phrase in addition, which might refer to the Minister; and I have no doubt that the conduct of the Bhau is intended to be the principal subject of inquiry. If the soukars were alone concerned, it would, I should think, be very impolitic to discuss by any rigorous investigation a body of men, who have been of so much service to the Gaikwad Government.

6. Of whatever nature the investigation may be, but particularly if it refers to the Minister, it is essential, I think, of its being carried on with propriety and with a due regard to public opinion that Dhakji should take his departure before it be commenced upon. He may communicate what he knows, and the names of those persons by whom it will be substantiated, and may then leave Baroda; but, if he remains here, the inquiry will bear the appearance of mere personal recrimination on the part of Dhakji, and [will] easily awaken suspicion or some discreditable motive on the part of the Raja.

No. 1. Letter from J. Willoughby to Dhakji, dated 13th July.

Orders to leave Mr. Norris having been given to understand by His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad that all your accounts, both with this Government and your late partners in the potdari, have been adjusted, I am directed by that Gentleman to call upon you to state the cause now remaining for your continuing any longer at Baroda.

2. You must be perfectly aware that it was originally intended you should leave Baroda as soon as these accounts were finally settled; which was not only desired by His Highness, but appears from your correspondence with this Residency to have been your own wish; and as no cause is now apparent why any change of what was formerly intended should take place, you are directed to leave Baroda with all convenient speed.

No. 2. Minutes, 28th July.

Letter Ordered that the following reply be returned by the Secretary to the Acting Resident at Baroda.

No. 3. Letter from Francis Warden to Charles Norris, dated 28th July.

Approval I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th of this month, reporting the substance of a communication with His Highness Sayajirao relating to Dhakji Dadaji, and to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council approves of your proceedings on the occasion.

Orders 2. The Governor-in-Council does not however consider the Gaikwad's scheme of detecting abuses by means of Dhakji (even should it be really impolitic) of a nature to call for the interference of the British Government, and you will therefore be pleased to warn Sayajirao against listening implicitly to the recriminations of a man circumstanced like Dhakji; still should His Highness wish to persevere, he is to be allowed to follow his own course.

3. The Governor-in-Council has no objection to Dhakji remaining at Baroda, if the Gaikwad should wish it, since it was only to gratify His Highness that he was ordered away. It must however be clearly understood that he is not to remain under the guarantee of the British Government after the period specified in the letter to you of the 25th of this month.

4. Should Dhakji pretend that his accounts are still unadjusted, you will be pleased to examine them; and, if it should appear that he is protracting their settlement on false pretences, or that his presence is not required for their adjustment, you will after due notice declare our guarantee at an end, after which he will be in all respects on the same footing as any other banker at Baroda.

Baroda, 18th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)

1820

Communication between Mr. Norris and Dhakji Dadaji.

Mr. Norris first commenced by asking Dhakji what was the cause of his still remaining in Baroda, as he understood all his accounts were settled both with the Government and his late partners in the potdari. Dhakji replied it arose from his late partners not having as yet settled the balance due to him. Being asked what this balance amounted to, and why he did not apprise the Acting Resident of the circumstance, to the 1st part of the query he replied that independent of the deductions made on account of the sums due by him to the Government, a balance of three lakhs or thereabouts remained due to him; to the latter part of the query, after considerable equivocation, he said he had not done so from the idea that they would soon pay him the money without obliging him to trouble the Resident on the subject.

Mr. Norris then informed Dhakji that from a conversation he had had yesterday with His Highness, His Highness considered he would be enabled by his (Dhakji's) assistance to discover a great deal of fraud and roguery, which had been practised by different persons in the employment of the Gaikwad Government, and in conclusion requested Dhakji explicitly to inform him whether this was the case, and who were the delinquents. Upon receiving this communication Dhakji evinced considerable tokens of surprise, and at first positively denied that he was prepared to enter into any accusations of the kind. Upon further interrogation however he seemed to object to answer the question put as it was in so general a shape, and seemed to insinuate that particular questions should be put to him as to the acts of particular persons. Mr. Norris replied that, as he of course could not attach any particular suspicion to anybody, he could not put any question of the kind to him. Dhakji then said he did not know of any person who had particularly wronged the Government; adding how was it possible he could do so, without referring to the accounts; that the minister and fadnavis must know more about the matter than he possibly could do; and that they were therefore the properest person to be interrogated on the subject. Mr. Norris replied that the persons he alluded to would, if it was necessary, be examined hereafter, but, that he now wished

to obtain all the information from him on the subject, which he was able to give; and that, as he was not now called upon to state the extent exactly of any particular act of delinquency, a reference to the accounts could not be necessary at present, but could be made at some future period. Dhakji however replied to the same effect as above. Mr. Norris then asked Dhakji whether he had made any offer to His Highness to disclose any acts of the kind; to which the latter replied positively that he had not, saying that he had had no communication with Sayajirao on the subject. Mr. Norris then asked him whether he had known any acts of roguery to have been practised during the time he was minister to this Government; to which he replied in the negative, adding that at the present time he had no suspicion, nor was there any impression upon his mind of any particular fraud which had been committed, without reference to the public accounts. He was then asked whether in making out the annual reports of the receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad Government, which were always annually forwarded for the information of the Bombay Government, had he at any time discovered any undue charge made against Government; to which after considerable hesitation and much pressing he likewise replied in the negative.

Dhakji then mentioned that a larger sum than that which had been agreed to be due to Sayaji's Government, had been taken from him. Upon being asked what the sum amounted to, he replied 2,17,000 Rupees. Mr. Norris then asked Dhakji why he did not before inform him of this circumstance, as he must have been well aware that without some good cause this would not have been permitted; to this question Dhakji could give no answer whatever. In conclusion it was agreed that Dhakji should come the next day to the Residency to meet the poldars and to bring with him a statement of the additional sums he had given up to Sayaji. Throughout the whole conference Dhakji evinced a very great desire to evade giving any direct answers to the questions put to him. The idea of his quietly submitting to a greater sum being deducted from the balance due to him by his late partners is quite out of the question, after that sum had been previously fixed at 1,75,000 Rupees as including the whole of His Highness's demands upon him, unless we suppose some latent cause exists which leads him to imagine he will receive some benefits from his ready acquiescence in the demand.

Minutes, 28th July.

Order Ordered that copies of the two preceding dispatches be transmitted to the Supreme Government for its information.

1820 *Baroda, 18th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)*

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Meeting with Dhakji In continuation of the subject of my letter of yesterday's date I beg that you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I to-day called Dhakji to the Residency and examined him in as direct a way as I thought proper regarding the point on which His Highness Sayajirao had spoken to me.

2. The whole of what passed on the occasion was taken down at the time by Mr. Willoughby, whose narrative of the conversation I beg leave to enclose and refer to as a correct account of all that took place.

3. No credit is, I think, due to Dhakji's assertion that he had had no communication with His Highness on the subject of the information which His Highness expected to derive from him.

4. It is equally improbable that a man, who seems to have so shrewd a perception of his own interests where pecuniary matters are concerned, should have paid to Sayaji more than he believed Sayaji could properly demand (and it appears that he did do so) without having some object of importance in view.

5. However unpromising a prospect he may appear to others to possess of deriving advantage from his compliance and of getting again into power, I cannot help thinking that he has been entertaining hopes of this kind, though it can be known only to Sayaji and himself how far these hopes have been encouraged.

6. It is certain at least that he has of late shown no anxiety to quit Baroda; that, instead of endeavouring to get his affairs with his late partners settled, he has apparently studied to put off any arrangement and has failed to make any application to me to assist him in bringing his affairs to a conclusion.

7. When this supineness is contrasted with the eagerness to quit Baroda, which he formerly displayed, and when it is recollected that exactly the same change has taken place during the same period in Sayaji's feelings, it is almost impossible not to suspect that both have been influenced by some secret understanding. Each may possibly have deceived the other, the Raja may have magnified to Dhakji the power and the inclination which he had still to serve him, and Dhakji may have, when occasion required, exaggerated the advantage which the Raja would derive from his information.

8. It might be thought that Sayajirao's sole object may have been to obtain some public cause for setting aside the Bhau and depriving him of part of his emoluments, and thus enabling himself at little expense to employ the Diwanji as minister, but this supposition does not afford any explanation [of the eagerness] which Dhakji has evinced as to Sayajirao's views or the zeal and anxiety with which he has forwarded them.

9. I shall have the honour of reporting tomorrow the result of the conference, which I shall have with Dhakji and his partners, in which my principal object will be to get them to agree to a speedy adjustment, in order that Dhakji may leave Baroda.

10. I shall also take the earliest opportunity, in consequence of the result of Dhakji's examination, of strongly recommending His Highness to drop all idea of founding any charge against any person upon the information to be obtained from Dhakji.

1820 Baroda, 19th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 488)

Substance of a conference between Charles Norris, Dhakji Dadaji and the gumashtas of Hari Bhakti.

Preparing settlement

Upon the gumashtas being asked why they had not come to a settlement with Dhakji Dadaji, they replied they were ready to do so whenever required, provided Dhakji was ready to give them a release from all future demands. Upon being asked what the balance amounted to, they said they did not know exactly, but that the books would show its proper amount. They said they had with them an extract from their books, which they wished to compare with the books of Dhakji. Dhakji being asked whether he had brought his books with him, replied he had none, in as much as the accounts of this concern were kept in one book. The gumashtas then mentioned some particular papers with which they wished their account should be compared, which Dhakji however said he had not in his possession, but that his gumashta, Umia Shankar, had got it. The gumashtas then produced their memorandum, which exhibited a balance of only 1,51,000 Rupees, which they stated to be the correct balance within 2 or 3,000 Rupees more or less. Mr. Norris then put this document into the hands of Dhakji, and requested him to state whether it was correct or not. To this Dhakji answered it might be so, but that he could not say it was, without first referring to his own accounts. He was then asked why he had not come prepared to produce these, according to the directions he had yesterday received; to which after much hesitation and evasion he said the cause was that he did not understand that he would be sent for the purpose of making the final settlement, but merely to hear the gumashtas told to pay him his balance. Mr. Norris then remarked that the balance did not amount to more than half the sum which Dhakji yesterday stated to be the probable one due to him. He accounted for this difference by stating that this was the balance due to him from one account only, but that the remainder was due to him from Ratanji Kandas on account of the Kathiawar potdari. As nothing could be done without both parties having their accounts with them, it was finally agreed that the gumashtas of Hari Bhakti and Mairal Narayan as well as those of Ratanji Kandas should come with Dhakji to the Residency to-morrow morning, fully prepared to settle everything.

1820 Baroda, 23rd July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 489)

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Discussion

On the 20th instant Dhakji and the gumashtas of Hari Bhakti and Ratanji Kandas attended at the Residency for the purpose of settling their accounts.

2. After some conversation it appeared that, according to the statement of Hari Bhakti's gumashta, the amount due by him to Dhakji was about Rupees 1,50,000. Dhakji said that it must be 2,50,000. The books of the potdars were sent for; and after some time had elapsed, they arrived. Dhakji then made large extracts from them in English; but, as he was desirous of examining all his

accounts with them from the beginning, little progress was made on that day; and it seemed probable that some days must yet pass before any settlement could be come to. The balance due from Ratanji Kandas was stated by that person's gumashta to be Rupees 54,800, and by Dhakji to be 80,000.

3. Dhakji at the interview produced a paper purporting to be a translation of a release which he had received from Sayaji. From this it appeared that, instead of his being paid more than was fixed upon, he had paid less. The original sum claimed by Sayaji as due to him on account of Dhakji's embezzlement, while he was only a servant of the Gaikwad, was Rupees 1,75,000. Dhakji on the 18th stated that he had paid Rupees 2,17,000, whereas by this statement it appeared that he had paid only Rupees 1,63,000. In this amount also was included a new demand of Rupees 17,500 brought by His Highness against Dhakji as being half the amount of the nazranah which Dhakji ought, on being appointed minister, to have presented to Sayaji, but which he was prevented from doing in consequence of the death of a near relation. When Dhakji was asked to reconcile the two statements, he looked much confused and acknowledged that he had made a mistake.

4. The 21st being a Hindu holiday no progress could be made in the settlement of the accounts, and I was unable to visit the Raja as I had intended to do.

5. Yesterday the 22nd, Dhakji and the gumashtas came very late to the Residency; and on questioning them I found that, although they had objected to attend on me yesterday, they had nevertheless been at Dhakji's house, and had given him some extracts from their accounts. They came on the 22nd without their books and said that their principals had desired them not to take them out. As I was going to visit the Raja, I desired them to wait until I came back.

6. The first subject accordingly on which I spoke to His Highness was the objection made by the potdars to send their accounts to the Residency. I told His Highness that I was very desirous that Dhakji's accounts should be speedily settled, that this would certainly be sooner done at the Residency than anywhere else, and that the gumashtas had brought the books without hesitation the day before; and I requested His Highness therefore to order that they might be sent to the Residency again. His Highness said that he would order them to produce for Dhakji's inspection such books as were required, but that the soukars were unwilling that their books should leave their shops, and that at present there was no certainty that Dhakji's account and those of the potdars would be at variance, that the potdars' accounts, besides the soukars' accounts, ought not to be taken to the Residency, and that there was no necessity for it, as Dhakji might go to the potdars' shops and examine them. I said that allowing this to be the case in the present instance, if it were necessary according to the present understanding that I should inspect the accounts, the difficulty could not be thus got over. His Highness said that I might send a confidential person from the Residency to examine them. I said that that

would not meet with my concurrence. His Highness said that from the commencement of the connection between the two Governments those books had never been brought to the Residency, and appealed to Mr. Willoughby to say whether he ever knew them to have been brought. Mr. Willoughby stated that, although he had never seen the books at the Residency, yet he had always understood that, if they were required, they would be shown, the more particularly as the right to examine at all times all the [books] of the Government had been established while the Governor was at Baroda. In the present case I agreed that Dhakji should examine his partners' books at their shops.

7. I then informed His Highness I had examined Dhakji, and that I could not find that he had any particular instances of speculation to bring to light against anybody. I told him that it was in consequence of my advice that he should give up all idea of founding a charge against anybody upon Dhakji's evidence. I observed that, in addition to the inconsistency apparent in now wishing to detain Dhakji, his evidence could be of no use, that nothing could be considered proved upon his testimony, whatever was exhibited in correct accounts could alone be relied upon, and as the accounts might always be consulted, there could be no necessity for Dhakji remaining. His Highness, after alluding to his message by Mir Saffarazalli, said that he would send again for me to-morrow, and would put me in possession of most important information. I begged him to say what he had to communicate, but he said that he would let me know to-morrow, and that in fact he hardly knew all that he had to-day.

8. I then informed His Highness that I had received a letter from Government on the subject of his claims upon Dhakji. I said first that the Governor-in-Council was concerned that His Highness had not brought forward his demands at one and the same time and in a precise and clear manner. He said that he was not acquainted with them all at once. I then informed him of the decision of Government on the 1st and 2nd items, and explained to him and the Diwanji the grounds on which it had been come to. No decision upon the two last items had, I told him, yet been passed, as further information was required.

9. Upon receiving this communications His Highness became quite an altered man, and the prospect of recovering so large a sum of money seemed to have the effect of magic upon him. He had before maintained a sulky and discontented demeanour and seemed disposed to give evasive and unsatisfactory replies to whatever was said to him; but he now assumed a cheerful aspect, and seemed for the first time inclined to enter cordially into the conversation. His first question was when I intended to make Dhakji pay the money, accompanied by a request that it might be soon. I told him that from the letter of the Government to me and from the circumstances of the case I thought that His Highness was himself to make Dhakji refund the money. His Highness said that he understood that the arrangement, made with the Hon'ble the Governor, was that His Highness was to recover by his own means and authority such sums as Dhakji had embezzled since he

ceased to be a servant of the Company, but that his speculations to that period were to be referred to the Governor, and if established, the amount was to be refunded to His Highness by the assistance of the British Government, and that he only wanted me to give Dhakji the order. I said that, although I doubted that the British Government was intending to take any steps in Baroda at all events towards enforcing payment from Dhakji, yet that I would so far meet His Highness's wishes as at a proper time to recommend and enjoin Dhakji to pay to the Raja the sum awarded by Government.

10. I then told the Raja that for the present I would say nothing to Dhakji, and I recommended His Highness also to make no communication to that person on the subject of the decision of Government for some days, in order that the accounts of the potdars might be fully examined, and a mutual agreement taken from both parties as to the amount due to Dhakji, when we should know what funds were available on this account towards reimbursing His Highness. Sayaji immediately assented to this.

11. The Diwanji in the course of conversation, during a short time that the Raja was absent, said that Dhakji should be made to reimburse the Gaikwad without delay, and that he understood that Dhakji was sending money to Bombay, and that, if he were not made to pay speedily, there might be difficulty in getting the amount from him. I said that, if, after the balance due from bankers had been paid, the remainder due from Dhakji according to the award of Government could not be otherwise recovered, I conceived that it might be taken from Dhakji's inam villages. As I had heard that Sayaji was reported to have given Dhakji a release from all demands whatever, I asked the Diwanji whether this was the case. The Diwanji declared that it was not, and asked how the Raja could thus destroy his claim to eight lakhs of Rupees, and make a settlement without my concurrence in matters which he had brought before the Resident. I said that the last objection, it was clear, was no bar to His Highness acting in that way, as he had at all events made a settlement regarding the items which he had claimed against Dhakji, while Mr. Willoughby was in charge. The Diwanji said that His Highness did not keep this a secret from me. I said that he had not, after it was done; but that he had not informed me of its being in progress. When His Highness afterwards came in, I made the same observation to him. He answered in the way that the Diwanji had done, and offered to let me see the settlement which he had made with Dhakji. I requested that I might have a copy of it, and he consented.

12. The Hon'ble Board will perceive from what has passed, that Sayaji has given a further instance of the irregular manner, in which his claims to Dhakji have been brought forward, by bringing against him without my knowledge a new demand, viz. for the amount of a nazranah due to him. However this demand seems to me to be just, and I am surprised at His Highness having consented to be satisfied with half the amount.

13. The objection of the potdars to bring their books to the Residency is reasonable according to the ideas of the natives; and

if I was fortunate enough to obtain their consent the first day, this is more at variance with established custom than the difficulty afterwards experienced. At the same time if the Raja and Dhakji should both be disposed to protract the final settlement of Dhakji's affairs (and this has certainly been the case), there seems to be no means by which an adjustment can be effected except by the parties attending with their books at the Residency. As to the Resident not having the power of sending for the books of the potdars to examine their accounts with the Government, this question must, I should think, be decided by ascertaining whether they are ever brought to the palace; for, if that should be the case, the Resident must surely have the same power.

14. In the present state of Dhakji's affairs I am sanguine in my expectations that a settlement with his partners will soon be effected. The interests of the Raja will be so much forwarded by this object being gained that his assistance may, I imagine, be depended upon; and Dhakji by himself will not be able to occasion much delay. When the mutual agreement between Dhakji and the potdars shall have been passed, and the balance due to Dhakji paid to the Raja, I hope that I shall receive the authority of Government to urge Sayaji in its name to desire Dhakji to leave Baroda: for until this takes place, there can be no security for the Raja's persevering in one uniform and respectable line of conduct; and although in matters concerning himself alone this may afford no ground of interference on our part, yet any discreditable charge of demeanour, adopted by Sayaji towards Dhakji, cannot, I think, be viewed by us with the same indifference. But this must be constantly expected while Dhakji remains here, for Sayaji is so alive to any proposal by which he can hope to get money that Dhakji will always have it in his power by the slight hint of this, kind to engage his hearty concurrence in any scheme which Dhakji may have in view.

15. When I shall have received from the Gaikwad the copy of the settlement made by him with Dhakji, I shall lose no time in reporting to Government upon the 3rd and 4th items of charge against Dhakji, and upon the two remaining items brought against him after Mr. Williams's departure. The two latter will, I think, be found to be settled.

Minutes 7th August.

Approval Ordered that the receipt of the preceding letter be acknowledged and the Acting Resident informed that the Governor-in-Council approves of his proceedings regarding Dhakji Dadaji, and a copy forwarded to the Supreme Government for its information.

1820 *Baroda, 20th July, 1820 (1820, P. D. 489)*

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Fresh delay I beg that you will inform the Governor-in-Council, that Mir Sarfraz Ali [*Jafar Ali?*] visited me this morning, and after some previous conversation stated to me that His Highness had heard that I was urging Dhakji's departure, and had desired Mir Sarfraz to wait

2. With respect to Dhakji Dadaji the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council directs me to acquaint you for the information of His Lordship-in-Council that no provision was assigned to that native at the late settlement with the Gaikwad.

3. Dhakji had formerly received a grant of land in inam; and as grants of the nature are [not] sold or resumed, except in cases of treason, he was allowed to retain what he had acquired. He enjoys it however during the pleasure of the Gaikwad only, there being no guarantee on the part of the British Government.

4. This last observation has been communicated to the Acting Resident at Baroda to be impressed by him on the Gaikwad and on Dhakji Dadaji, whenever occasion shall offer for doing so, without appearing to recommend the resumption of the inam, on which the Gaikwad must form his own judgment, uninfluenced by the British Government.

1820 *Baroda, 5th August, 1820 (1820, P. D. 490)*

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Dhakji's request 3. Subsequently to my interview with His Highness on the 20th ultimo, I have on more occasions than one urged Dhakji to bring his accounts with his partners to a speedy settlement. To these calls he has always answered that the length and intricacy of them are such that some considerable time must still elapse before they can be completely examined; and he has at length made a formal request to me to grant him a month's time from the 1st instant, for this purpose. I have informed him that I shall request to be forwarded with the orders of Government on this point, and will communicate them to him.

Bombay reply, dated 19th August, 1820.

Granted The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is pleased to comply with Dhakji's request as stated in the 3rd paragraph of your letter; and he is to be informed that the guarantee of the British Government is to cease on the 1st of September, whatever may be the state of his accounts.

1820 *Baroda, 12th August, 1820 (1820, P. D. 490)*

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Sayaji's demands I have the honour to enclose translate of a memorandum received on the 10th instant from His Highness Sayajirao, detailing further demands of His Highness upon Dhakji Dadaji to the amount of Rupees 1,58,045.

I have informed His Highness that I shall solicit the instructions of Government previously to calling upon Dhakji for explanation or taking any steps in business.

Statement of money received by Dhakji Dadaji from different mahals.

Total excess received ... Rs. 1,58,045.

Minutes, 26th August, 1820.

Orders Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that, there being nothing in support of the Gaikwad's further claims on Dhakji

Dadaji, it is impossible for the Governor-in-Council to pronounce an opinion on them. Mr. Norris is therefore to call on His Highness for the requisite proofs.

Baroda, 30th August, 1820 (1820 P. D. 491)

1820

Charles Norris Acting Resident to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, directing me to apprise Dhakji Dadaji that the guarantee of the British Government would cease on the 1st of September, and to inform His Highness the Gaikwad that the two last items of charge were required to be proved against Dhakji. *Guarantee extended*

Since the date of my last letter concerning Dhakji, deaths have happened in the families of both the poldars, which circumstance has prevented him from continuing his examination of the accounts.

In order therefore that no injustice might be done to Dhakji by a too strict adherence to the Government orders under the impediment which has thus been thrown in his way, I this day called him and his partners' gumasthas to the Residency, and after some conversation with them, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer to the enclosed statement, I have fixed the day when the guarantee of the British Government is to cease at the 24th September, which extension of the period allowed by Government will, I trust, under the circumstances of the case be approved by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

I have the honour to enclose copy of the letter addressed to Dhakji upon the occasion.

I did not think it necessary to delay this communication on the ground of the demands of His Highness, communicated to Government in my letter of the 12th instant, being still unsettled; because, in the first place, they may possibly not be countenanced by Government; in the next place, because there can be no security, whatever period be fixed, that such demands may not be brought forward at the conclusion of it; and lastly, because I certainly think that, whether the guarantee be withdrawn or not, His Highness will consent to abide by the decision of Government upon any demand against Dhakji of a date previous to that of his appointment as minister.

I have made the necessary communication to His Highness upon the subject of the two last of the four original items of charge.

No. 1 Conversation with Dhakji Dadaji.

I first asked Dhakji how long it would take him to get his accounts with Hari Bhakti's shop settled, he answered a month. Upon applying to Hari Bhakti's gumashta for the same information, I was told that ten days would be sufficient. The period was finally settled at fourteen days; and with a view to the speedy accomplishment of the task, it was agreed that Dhakji should send a gumashta to take such notes of the accounts as were necessary, himself merely superintending. Hari Bhakti's gumashta at this time said there was some *Settlement of claims*

disagreement between him and Dhakji, which it would be necessary to have finally settled by him and Dhakji. He alluded particularly he said to the interest claimed principally by Mairal Narayan on account of money advanced to the concern by him on Dhakji's account. Dhakji having failed to pay into the shop the amount agreed upon, Mairal Narayan claims interest at 12 annas per month. Dhakji consents only to pay 8 annas. Finding that I was not likely to settle this question, and being anxious at least, before the parties went away, to arrange some means by which it might be settled, I proposed to them to name an arbitrator; and Mangal Parekh having been agreed upon, I put questions to the parties, leading to an elucidation of the facts of the case with the intention of referring the question with this paper to the arbitrator. I then enquired of Ratanji Khandas's gumashta what period was required for the settlement of his accounts with Dhakji, he said that some of his account books were in Kathiawar, but that he had copies of them or documents of that nature; and that, if they only were consulted, ten or twelve days would be sufficient. He said that he had the same difference with Dhakji as Mairal Narayan had; and that he would also be satisfied with Mangal Parekh's award. It was then settled that Dhakji should send a gumashta to each shop and should himself according to his convenience go from one to the other for the purpose of superintending.

I then dismissed the potdars and informed Dhakji that I had orders to notify to him that the British guarantee in his behalf would cease on the first September; that however I was aware that deaths had lately occurred in the families of the potdars, which had prevented his examining their accounts; and that therefore being satisfied that Government would extend any reasonable indulgence to him, I would still give him on my own responsibility such time as appeared necessary for his adjusting his affairs. From the statements of the potdars this appeared to be ten or twelve days. I would give him fourteen and ten in addition for contingencies, and would fix the 24th September as the period when the guarantee of the British Government would cease. To this effect I said that I would send him a public letter.

I thought it but fair towards him to warn him not to be imprisoned [*sic*] which means to satisfy demands of His Highness against him. He asked me to what I alluded, and I told him to the four items of charge sent in against him by His Highness.

No. 2. Letter from Charles Norris, Acting Resident, to Dhakji Dadaji, dated 30th August.

Guarantee

Having communicated to Government the delay which has taken place in the settlement of your accounts with your late partners, I have received the instructions of the Hon'ble Board to inform you that the guarantee of the British Government in your behalf is to cease on the first September, whatever may be the state of your accounts.

Since the day of my reference to Government I am aware that deaths have happened in the families of your partners; which circumstance has prevented for a considerable time the examination of

their accounts. It would be hard that this should operate to your disadvantage; and it cannot be the object of Government to show injustice towards you. I have therefore, as you are aware, made inquiries as to the time which will be necessary for you to bring your accounts to a close. This, I find, need not be at all events above a fortnight. Ten days beyond this time will be allowed to you; and reckoning from the 1st September, by which time you may commence afresh to examine your partners' accounts, the 24th September is fixed as the period when the Government guarantee will cease.

Minutes, 12th September, 1820.

Ordered the Acting Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council approves, under the circumstances, which he has detailed, of his having extended the guarantee of the British Government to Dhakji Dadaji until the 24th of this month. *Approval*

Baroda, 27th September, 1820 (1820 P. D. 493)

1820

Charles Norris, Acting Resident, to Francis Warden.

I beg that you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that in pursuance of the intimation which I had given to Dhakji Dadaji, I on the morning of the 25th instant waited upon His Highness the Gaikwad and informed him that, the 24th September having been fixed as the day on which Dhakji would cease to reside in Baroda under British protection, His Highness would now consider himself as at liberty to adopt such measures as he might think fit towards forcing Dhakji to refund the amount awarded against him by Government. His Highness replied that he should request my advice, which I said that I would be happy to afford. He begged me also to send for Dhakji once more and enjoin him to pay to His Highness the amount adjudged by Government. *Dhakji's appeal rejected*

I yesterday sent for Dhakji, and giving him a memorandum of the money which he was called upon to refund, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, strongly recommended him to pay the money. He was very urgent to allow a further appeal to Government before he refunded; but I did not see how he could claim this, *considering that his written answers to the several charges had been laid before Government.* He pressed me to forward a memorial, which he said he would draw up, to the Government. But I refused to comply with this request upon two grounds; first, because he was no longer under British protection at Baroda and secondly, because he would adduce no reason affecting in the least the basis of the decision against him. Had I consented to forward his representation, he would have made this a ground for delaying His Highness's further proceedings against him. At the same time, and I told Dhakji so, *that he might, if he pleased, write to Government; but that in the meantime His Highness would urge him to surrender the money which he had unlawfully received.*

The period which has been allowed to Dhakji has produced a final settlement between him and his partners, though it appears to have been delayed by him, until nearly the last moment.

Sums to be paid by Dhakji to His Highness Sayajirao.

First item of charge	Rs. 2,75,000
Second item	Rs. 1,90,000
Deduct: denied to have been received by Dhakji; an inquiry is now taking place as to whether this sum was received.	40,000 .. 1,50,000
Third item	Rs. 1,69,000
Deduct amount of security for Petlad not paid	7,000 .. 1,62,000
Fourth item .. ..	.. .. 32,000
	<u>Rupees 6,19,000</u>

Minutes, 9th October, 1820.

Approval Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council approves of his conduct towards Dhakji Dadaji as reported in the preceding dispatch.

1820 *Baroda, 11th October, 1820 (1820 P. D. 493)*

Charles Norris to Francis Warden.

Dhakji's villages I have previously taken an opportunity, as instructed in your letter of the 20th July last, to explain clearly to His Highness the Gaikwad and to Dhakji that the latter held his inam villages entirely at the pleasure of His Highness and not under any guarantee of the British Government, although I delayed reporting this, in the hope of being enabled in a short time to write finally upon the settlement of Dhakji's affairs. I am therefore perfectly satisfied that Sayajirao in allowing him to keep possessions of them has no idea that the British Government would be unwilling to see them resumed, and the wishes of Government in this respect are accordingly, I believe, fully answered.

Should Dhakji be allowed permanently to retain his villages, this circumstance will be attributed probably to a respect for the common custom and to the wishes of the Ministers, who would be unwilling to establish a precedent for depriving a karbari, when out of employ, of the villages which had been given to him in inam.

Minutes, 23rd October, 1820.

Orders Ordered that a copy of the preceding letter, respecting the inam villages granted to Dhakji Dadaji by His Highness the Gaikwad, be communicated to the Supreme Government for its information.

No. 4. SIDELIGHTS ON KATHIAWAR

The documents here published, though incomplete, may help to give a fairly adequate idea of the general trend of British aspirations and activities in regard to Kathiawar.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 1815 (1815, P. D. 422-423)

1815

Independence of Kathiawar Chieftains [Extract of a report by James R. Carnac, adducing the grounds on which the Raja of Bhavnagar rests his rights to sovereignty in all his possessions¹].

4. As far as history or tradition can be adduced as evidence, it is my opinion that both will prove the Chieftains of the peninsula of Kathiawar to have always been, in respect to their municipal economy, perfectly independent of the Powers which have successively enjoyed the supremacy in Gujarat; the utmost of their submission being the payment (when exacted by the presence of an army) of a tribute to obtain the forbearance of the Power whose good will it was an object to conciliate, because the consequences of its enmity were to be feared. Chiefs independent.

5. This subject has already been ably discussed by the high and respectable authority of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in his dispatch to Government, dated the 20th of June, 1806², which, as containing a summary of that officer's observation after some years of diligent research, I beg to recommend to attentive perusal. It contains the result generally of his patient and anxious inquiries into the state of society in the western districts of our late acquisition in Gujarat, and becomes entitled to increased attention from being supported by an authentic extract from an historical work of acknowledged respectability and by the verbal testimony of an intelligent agent actively employed by the Government of the Peshwa from the period of the conquest of Gujarat.

6. Colonel Walker expressly states that from every information which has reached him, it would appear that the different Chieftains of Kathiawar had maintained, under the different revolutions of the governments of this country, the same character and the same degree of personal independence, and that, except in the payment of their jamabandi, the Chiefs, such as rajas, rawals, thakurs and Grassias, were in possession and exercise of every interior right of sovereignty. "The powers of these several ranks may," he adds, "be illustrated in the present condition of the authority of the Bhavnagar Raja and of his situation in the pargana of Gogha. The power of life and death, and the administration of justice within their respective villages are possessed by all.³ In respect to exterior

¹ From this report such passages are here printed as throw light on the relations between the Kathiawar and the Gaikwad Prince.

² See Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. xxxix. New Series, Part I from paragraph 49 onward.

³ *Ibid.*, par. 58.

relations," he continues, "they appear to have exercised the same freedom. They formed such connections as might be necessary for the security and extension of their commerce. They built fortifications and maintained troops; nor does it appear that any of the States, to whom they paid tribute, ever interfered in their transactions, whether foreign or domestic, so long as they were not inimical to themselves."¹

7. These observations are fully confirmed by the following description of the manner in which the Mogul Government exacted its tributary dues from the Chieftains of Kathiawar. I quote it from the extract of a book entitled the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi*, compiled by the Diwan of a Mogul subahdar of the province, and which formed an accompaniment to the dispatch alluded to above. "If the Governor of the subah should proceed with a large army towards Dungarpur, which is towards the north-east, he will effect the settlement of the zilla of Idar, Sirohi, Danta, the hill of Gir, Rana Bhau, Phaphur, Khundiyanagar, the taluka of Cutch, and from thence the zamindars of Jhalavad, Morvi, Halvad, the sarkar of Islamnagar, Jegat, Rana Bhau, the sarkar Sorath, Porbandar, Chhaya, Kisoje, Oanch, and others of Kathiawar, Gohelwad (in which division the district of Gogha is situated) Sulianeh, Dhandhuka, and Dholka, and at length arrive at Cambay, which is situated on the sea shore, through the above named zillas."²

8. This extract, which speaks volumes as to the nature of the subjection of the Kathiawar Chieftains to the Moguls, is fully corroborated by the authority of Amritlal, an officer whose close connection with the Governments of the Peshwa and Gaikwad in the province enabled him eight years ago to state, as the result of his personal observations during the space of 51 years, that the collections of the revenues from the zamindars always appears to have been necessary to be supported by a force: "Neither Moguls nor Marathas interfered in their internal policy; and during the government of the latter they appear to have continued to possess the same rights and privileges and to be nearly in the same state as they were in the time of Akbar."³

9. To these respectable authorities it is not irrelevant to add the account which Major Rennell gives of the States of the western portion of this province, consequent to the overthrow of the Moguls by the Marathas. "The province of Cutch", states this celebrated Geographer, "and the south-east side of Sind, as well as the western parts of the peninsula of Gujarat, are governed by rajas of their own and do not appear to have undergone much change by the late revolutions in Hindustan. Cutch is only a barren country, but in its nature too strong to be easily attacked, and the western part of Gujarat is mountainous and woody, and inhabited by a wild hardy race, and therefore on both accounts unfavourable to a Maratha army."

Objections
refuted 10. The report of Sir Miguel de Souza has been quoted by Mr. Warden as proof of the existence of an order of things very opposite

¹ *Ibid.*, para. 60.

² *Ibid.*, para. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, para. 56.

to what the above authorities show to have existed. Allowing in the fullest manner for the enmity of Sir Miguel towards the Chieftains of Bhavnagar and Limdi, apparently originating in having [viewed] their power and privileges with all the jealousy of a person who aimed at establishing a rival authority under his own superintendence at Dholera, I confess myself at a loss to find any information in his reports, which invalidates my view of the question; rather, under the circumstances of opposition which, he conceived, he had experienced from the Thakur in the establishment of Dholera, I consider the general opinion of this country, founded no doubt on correct tradition, to be decidedly in favour of the pretensions of the Chieftains, when it is stated by Sir Miguel that "the Moguls kept these rajas and thakurs or bhumias in possession of their own country with the privilege of exercising their own governments and managing their own internal economy so long as the annual tribute or royal acknowledgment called jama was paid". And again, "Under these conditions the rajas and thakurs or bhumias were allowed to hold their lands, independent from each other under their own government without any other tie or control or submission to the Mogul Government than the payment of the said jama."

11. The tenor of these last extracts may induce a supposition, which Mr. Warden would appear to have adopted, that the Chieftains were allowed to retain their possessions and authority merely in trust for the Moguls. But if we are to judge from the general practice of that Power and especially from recorded instances of the policy of the Mogul Sovereigns in Gujarat, we shall be warranted in drawing a very opposite conclusion.

12. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* notices the conquest of Junagarh, of Beyt and Dwarka and the subjugation of Navanagar; while we are already informed that Perim¹ and the town of Gogha were wrested from the Chief of Gohelwar. These different places were incorporated with the State, and officers appointed for their management. The policy of the Moguls in the peninsula is strongly marked by these proceedings, and reasonably leads to the interference that, had they conquered other places, they also would have been rendered entirely subordinate to Government.

13. Mr. Warden would appear to attach considerable weight to the term 'royal acknowledgment,' used in the above quotation from Sir Miguel de Souza's reports. The literal meaning of this term does not of itself convey a distinct elucidation of the ideas of the writer; but the term 'tribute,' which precedes, clearly defines the signification attached to it by Sir Miguel de Souza and, if collated with all the other circumstances, enumerated as descriptive of the rights of the Chieftains, is the only interpretation of which it will admit.

The conquest of Perim, [*Piram*] is adduced as a proof of the exercise of sovereign rights by the Moguls. This act however (which

1 I. See Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. III, p. 66. *Piram*, a small island about seven miles south of Gogha, was a stronghold captured in 1347 by the troops of Muhammad Tughlak.

occurred 500 years ago) can be considered the act of an enemy, who, invading the possessions of another, was opposed in his aggressions, till the ancestors of the present Chief of Bhavnagar fell a sacrifice in defence of his rights. The successor of this unfortunate Prince (with the exception of Perim [*Piram*] and the town of Gogha) was restored to his patrimonial possessions and privileges through the good offices of the Raja of Dungarpur, in the short space of three years subsequent to the death of his father. At first, he selected for the seat of his authority a small village on the hills, but afterwards removed it to Sihori, a strong fort situated in a hilly tract, 15 miles inland from the town of Gogha.

14. Admitting in the fullest extent therefore the conquest of Gogha and Perim [*Piram*] by the Muhammadans, and their subsequent acquisition by the Peshwa (quoted by Mr. Warden as another proof of the exercise of sovereign power over the Bhavnagar Chief, though it ought not to be so considered, since these places had been wrested to his control), this circumstance can, I presume, no more deteriorate the rights, which the ancestors of the Gohelwar or Bhavnagar Chieftains regained with the remaining and more valuable portion of their Principality (now enjoyed by their descendants), than the dismemberment by conquest of a part of an European monarchy can deprive what remains of its title to independence. But, if this circumstance is to operate against the independence of the Bhavnagar Chieftain, with more justice might it be applied to the Chieftain of Navanagar; for Nagar was not only subdued, but even incorporated with the Empire; and its recovery by its Chief, under a stipulation to discharge a tribute, could not render him more independent than the Chieftain of Bhavnagar, because, by being reinstated in some of the possessions of his ancestors, the independence of the Nagar Chief is expressly recognised by the Gaikwad and confirmed by our own Governments.

15. But it is evident from the cession of a chauth to the Admiral of the Mogul's fleet at Surat that he was considered by the Moguls as possessing sovereign powers. The treaty entered into on this occasion most forcibly bespeaks independence on the part of the Thakur, which none of the circumstances, attending the establishment of the Peshwa in the district of Gogha, nor any which occurred in long period of the intercourse of the Thakur with that Power, can possibly invalidate.

16. The accompanying extract too, from the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi*, of the transactions of the Muhammadans in the peninsula, about the time the above cession was made, or probably a little anterior, evinces their policy in regard to the Chieftain of Bhavnagar, and deserves consideration. Anno Hijri 1155, A.D. 1741, "Najmu-d-daula (then subahdar of Ahmadabad) was dubious, in consequence of Ran Koo's return, what ought to be his future plans; for he conceived it would not appear well to march back to the capital; and as it was a year of famine, he was fearful that the troops, if he did so, would become importunate for pay. He therefore, trusting in the favour of Providence and the good fortune of his Master, resolved to adhere

to his original intention, hoping that, by not relinquishing it, the troops would be more comfortable and the cattle kept alive. He resolved to make his tributary settlements by the advice of Muhammed Kuli Khan, who was formerly employed with Sorab Khan in arranging the affairs of Sorath, and consequently acquainted with them, he accordingly marched towards Paliyad and Goghabander; and receiving a peshkash from Bhausing, zamindar of Sihori and Bhavnagar, he halted at Gogha during the days of fasting; and many of the surrounding zamindars repaired to him there." No mention is made in this history that Bhausing was interfered with in his possessions in the smallest degree, a circumstance which, if it had occurred, would not in all probability have been passed over without remark. In as much therefore as relates to the condition in which Bhausing was considered by the Moguls, this extract is corroborative of the foregoing remarks.

17. In a very able disquisition on the nature of our tenures of these countries by Mr. Keate, that Gentleman observes: "The absolute dominion of the Mogul Emperors in Gujarat, we are forbidden by all history to doubt; but local, is more convincing than general evidence; and I therefore refer to an authority entitled to great respect, which, after doubting if the subjugation of Gujarat was complete, admits that the Mogul Government deprived the Grassias of $\frac{2}{3}$ of their lands, "Now," he adds, "if a conqueror can invade and make so radical a change in the tenure of acknowledged private property, what further evidence can we require of the absolute nature and degree of his conquest?"

18. The perusal of the preceding authorities will evince, I trust, *Mogul rights* how little reason we now have to doubt whether the Moguls completely subdued Gujarat. The necessity of moving a large army to recover its tribute, its tributaries residing in fortified places and of course maintaining troops, all argue that the authority of the Moguls could not under such circumstances extend to interference in the internal rights of sovereignty of the western Chieftains, however the arrogance of that haughty and overbearing race might designate those Chieftains by terms implying subjection, terms which have marked the presumption rather than defined the rights of those by whom they were applied.

19. The distinction, drawn by Mr. Keate from the seizure of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Grassia lands by the Moguls, is entitled to every weight. Throughout the whole extent of country, where this harsh measure was adopted, drawing a line from Patri on the border of the eastern extremity of the Northern Ran through the Nal and Lower Ran to the sea about Dholera, we find that to the westward of this great natural boundary there are none or but very few well authenticated instances of the Moguls having invaded the rights of private property. The tyrannical measure of confiscating $\frac{2}{3}$ of the landed property of a race, was confined to the east of the line above specified; and while it certainly conveys, as Mr. Keate remarks, the most convincing proof of complete subjugation over that portion of this province, it can be allowed no weight of the nature attached to it by that Gentleman in the consideration of the rights of the Chieftains of the peninsula of Kathiawar. On the contrary, as motives of justice or humanity could not have

influenced a rapacious Government, which so tyrannically violated the possessory rights of its subjects, in inducing it to exempt from similar confiscations the territories of those Chieftains, we may be satisfied, that the only cause of this exemption was their state of independence and means of resistance, which, even in the plenitude of the Mogul Power formed insuperable barriers to their subjugation.

*Bhavnagar
Junagarh
incident*

20. The observations hitherto offered tend chiefly to illustrate the condition of the western Chieftains under the Moguls. Previous to passing to a consideration of the rights of the Marathas, I will shortly comment on an event which, as it occurred antecedent to this establishment in Gujarat, is more immediately connected with this part of the subject. I allude to the obstructions which are stated by Sir Miguel De Souza to have been thrown in the way of the construction of the fort of Bhavnagar by the Nawab of Junagarh, and quoted by Mr. Warden in illustration of the exercise of sovereignty by the Moguls.

21. The conduct of the Junagarh Nawab is probably ascribable to other motives than to a wish to assert a sovereignty. On the downfall of the Mogul Empire, the Chieftains of Junagarh were only faujdars of Gogha, which office, the revenues of the port dependent on it, they naturally enough wished to retain. Under this correct view of the case, the opposition of the Nawab to the establishment of Bhavnagar is to be attributed to his foresight of the injurious consequences, which would inevitably result from that measure to his general interests at Gogha. This conclusion is strengthened by the inferences deducible from the arrangement proceeding from this opposition. A chauth of the advantages of the new port was ceded to the Nawab, which counterbalancing the diminution of his receipts from Gogha, he immediately became indifferent to the objects and measures of the Thakur.

22. In thus impeding the establishment of Bhavnagar, the Chieftains of Junagarh, who, having thrown off allegiance to the Mogul Empire, could only consider themselves as members of the community of independent Chieftains of the peninsula, did nothing more than discharge a duty which every sovereign owes to his own interests, in opposing the acquisition by a neighbour of additional resources and power, which, gained in the first instance at his expense, might in the sequel be employed to the detriment of his own rights and authority.

23. But even conceding this point to Mr. Warden, and granting the previous subjection of the Thakur's of Bhavnagar, I would argue from the nature of the arrangement, made on this occasion, that the Junagarh Nawab thenceforth resigned those sovereign powers which, as the representative of the Mogul Empire, he might have assumed the right of exercising over that Chieftain. For the spirit of the cession, made to conciliate the good will of the Nawab, implies that independence must have been recognised by its acceptance. The term chauth, by which this cession is designated, sufficiently defines the rights conferred. It is understood to convey no right of sovereignty.

In Mr. Keate's treatise on our tenures of these possessions, already referred to, he also quotes the treaty of Bassein and other treaties in support of such an interpretation.

24. On proceeding to the consideration of the rights acquired by the Marathas, I may be allowed to express a hope that the foregoing observations not only lead to establish that the Chieftains of Kathiawar generally were never viewed by the Moguls as subjects; and that in particular the Thakur of Bhavnagar was recognised as independent by the Chieftain of Junagarh, previous to the establishment of the Peshwa at Gogha. *Maratha's rights*

25. It is urged that the Marathas succeeded by right of conquest to all the powers of the Mogul. Admitting the justice of this proposition, it seems an indisputable fact (with the exception of a few districts in which some of the servants of the Mogul Power established themselves, the sovereignty of which the Marathas allowed them to retain, subject to a tribute similar to that paid by the ancient hereditary Chieftains) that, wherever the Moguls exercised an immediate, direct and undivided authority, the same is enjoyed by the Marathas, while they have respected all the rights and privileges which the Chieftains of Kathiawar anciently possessed.

26. It is the fashion to expatiate much on the imbecility of Maratha Administration in Gujarat as well as on the usurpations which the corruptions of its Governments encouraged and rendered successful. But it should be recollected that a Maratha Government was in its principles absolute, of an encroaching tendency, and always aimed at the destruction of every right in the least interfering with its entire supremacy. The opinion of Colonel Walker, delivered in a dissension, wherein Mr. Holford asserted our right to sovereignty in Cambay, as to the vigilant nature of the Maratha Government in Gujarat, is so applicable that I hope to be excused for recording it in corroboration of my own sentiments. "Nothing is more erroneous than to attribute any limitation of the Maratha rights in Gujarat either to their neglect or to their want of power. Their vigilance in maintaining and advancing their interest is proverbial: and however much their influence may have generally declined, it has been in this part of the country gradually increasing".

27. To what can we then ascribe the respect paid to the Chieftains of Kathiawar but to a perfect conviction of their being founded, for right of this description, on the best basis? What can form a better defence for weaker States against the more powerful than 'public opinion and the sanction of antiquity', the danger and inconvenience of disregarding which have too often been evinced in the career of ambition.

28. The 16th paragraph of Mr. Warden's minute adverts to the period when the spirit of supposed aggrandisement first manifested itself by the Bhavnagar family; and he illustrates the process of the usurpations of the Chieftains generally by adducing the example of the Babi family of Junagarh. The case of that family however is by no means applicable. The Nawab of Junagarh was an officer of the *Junagarh exception*

Mogul Government, removable at pleasure the representative of that Power in Kathiawar, and consequently the depository of those privileges which he afterwards usurped for himself. Certainly the case of the native hereditary Chieftains bears no analogy to that of the Junagarh family. Nor can the privileges and revenues which the former enjoyed of their own right, subject to a tribute to the Moguls, be compared to the delegated trust committed to the care and fidelity of the latter...

Usurpation

29. The period of usurpation, alluded to, was an eventful epoch in the history of Hindustan. Not only are the Company indebted for the foundation of their power to the spirit of aggrandisement, which then actuated their predecessors, but almost every State existing in Junagarh at the present day owes its origin or stability to the anarchy and usurpations naturally attendant on the dissolution of a vast Empire.

30. Yielding therefore, for the better illustration of the subject, the complete subjugation of the Chieftains to the Moguls, let me ask if those Chieftains only were to be prevented from imitating the universal example of using every effort to regain their lost power and independence in the general usurpation incident to the overthrow of the Mogul armies and power? or are the powers, which possibly these Chiefs assumed for their safety and the protection of their interests to be denominated usurpations, and those which were acquired by others by a sacrifice of good faith and royal allegiance, to receive from British justice a public recognition? The question is so much at variance with consistency and reason, and so repulsive to the principles of our Government that, unless the comparison did not elucidate the inapplicability of the argeement [*alleged?*] against the independence of the Thakur of Bhavnagar, a reference to such palpable of inconsistency would have readily been avoided.

31. If the dissensions of the Marathas and the consequent necessity of employing these forces in a different part of the Empire prevented them from subjugating as completely as their predecessors the Chieftains of the peninsula, it is not surprising that these Princes, inhabiting [*waste?*] and hilly country and desirous of converting their means of resistance to the establishment of their independence, should have availed themselves of the necessities of these conquerors; or if the [*army?*] of the Marathas was wholly engaged by the difficulty of governing a great empire, recently subdued, the assumption by the Chieftains of the functions of government within their respective provinces was perfectly justifiable. Even if they had been completely subdued by the Moguls, their exertions for independence were natural consequences of the dissolution of that Empire; and according to the laws of nations, rights acquired under such circumstances are not deemed usurpations.

32. To prove a usurpation it is necessary to establish the previous lawful possession of the property or rights declared to be usurped. Owing no allegiance to the Marathas by the dismemberment of the stupendous fabric of dominion erected by the Moguls, the Chieftains

recovered the natural right of mankind to assert their independence; and if under the favour of circumstances they were able to withhold any of those acknowledgements of subjection, which for the purpose of illustration we concede they might have paid to the Moguls, we cannot justly urge, since the Marathas never exacted them, that the Chieftains had usurped their rights.

33. Under this view of the case, and confirmed, as the independence of the Chieftains has been by the clans of the Marathas. by the whole tenor of their policy in regard to the peninsula and, by the considerations that their forbearance has neither been the effect of ignorance or imbecility, can it now be asserted that we are authorised to destroy a system, which has the sanction of antiquity, and maintained itself against the encroaching tendency of a Maratha State, a system which is familiar to the country and congenial to its desire?

34. The authority of prescription can be but seldom adduced under circumstances affording it greater support than those enumerated as connected with the rights of the Chieftains of Kathiawar. The opinion of the writers on the laws of nations bears me out in stating that this plea is valid among sovereigns; and the celebrated Vattel [*de Vattel*] gives as one of his reasons, "that, were it permitted to have constantly recourse to ancient times, there are few sovereigns who would enjoy their rights in security, and there would be no peace to be hoped for on earth."

35. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind that, during the 70 years which have elapsed since the conquest of Gujarat by the Marathas, the most radical changes have occurred throughout the whole of Hindustan. It is worthy of observation that in the course of these revolutions rights were acquired by servants of the Empire, which had not been sanctioned, of greater antiquity or equal validity as those of the Chiefs of Kathiawar, and notwithstanding, these rights are admitted by general consent.

36. I cannot therefore avoid observing that those who deem such acquisitions valid ones, because the Chiefs holding them are powerful, while other acquisitions are esteemed usurpations, because unaided by the imposing appearance conferred by extensive rule, would do well to promulgate the graduated scale by which we are to regulate our opinions regarding usurpation. How useful might it not prove to be instructed in the degree of petty sovereignty which should impel us to activity in crushing the petty usurper? What greater share of dominion (however acquired) should cool us to indifference and what ought to excite in us an ardent desire to connect our interests with the most notorious usurper of his sovereign rights in the strictest bonds of amity and friendship?

Bombay, 9th January, 1818 (1818, P. D. 441)

1818

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

The Governor-in-Council has more than once expressed his *Rights over* apprehensions that the engagements contracted by Colonel Walker *Kathiawar* have not been so strictly enforced as they ought to have been, and that

the British Government should exercise a more active and decisive authority, as the guarantee to those engagements, than it has hitherto done. The result of the investigation, which must be instituted on the renewal of the pecuniary engagements, will prove how far those apprehensions have been well founded.

The rights of the Gaikwad over the bhumias of Kathiawar are not superior to those which the Peshwa possessed, and are unquestionably inferior¹ to those of the British Government, which, independent of the cession of the Peshwa's tribute, has acquired a power under the guarantee of the existing engagements, superior to any that has yet been exercised over the Chieftains of Kathiawar.

The Gaikwad Government has however indirectly, through the inadvertence under which the Kathiawar engagements were concluded and the long period it held the farm of Ahmadabad, assumed pretensions to supremacy to which it has no legitimate claim. It was this conviction of the gradual supersession of his own and the undue ascendancy of the Gaikwad's influence in the country that determined the Peshwa on no consideration to renew the farm of Ahmadabad in favour of the Gaikwad.

It was moreover a just consideration to the rights of the Peshwa that led Colonel Walker to propose that the consent of His Highness should be obtained to the projected arrangements for Kathiawar previously to our commencing their negotiation.² Through some inadvertence that acquiescence was never obtained nor even solicited, an omission which, combined with the extension of the pecuniary engagements beyond the duration of the farm of Ahmadabad, involved the British Government in those difficulties which were experienced in removing the Peshwa's objections to confirm engagements in the conclusion of which he had not been consulted, though His Highness's interests were deeply involved in their operation.

Had the Peshwa's rights in Kathiawar not been ceded to the Company, it would have been incumbent on the British Government to have renewed the decennial engagements under a more positive negotiation of the rights of the Peshwa, and to have corrected the erroneous impressions, which are to be formed from perusal of all Colonel Walker's reports of his proceedings in Kathiawar, which refer to the tribute, as if it wholly exclusively belonged to the Gaikwad, whilst the claims of the Peshwa to any participation in the amount are entirely unnoticed and appear to have had no existence.

Referring under these preliminary observations to the 4th paragraph of your dispatch, I have been directed to remark that the Governor-in-Council does not apprehend that any confusion, contentions

¹ The claim here made is in direct opposition with the intentions expressed in 1806. See *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. VII, p. 520, para. 19.

² This is a gratuitous assertion; there is no trace in any of the extant documents that Colonel Walker ever suggested that the Peshwa's previous consent was to be asked. If he had done so, the Bombay Government would undoubtedly have acted on his advice. Warden's allegation illustrates how easy it is to find a stick wherewith to beat a dog.

and differences, or that any evils of delay and suspense will arise out of what you designate a divided authority. The existing perplexity, in which the claims to tribute of the two Governments and the delay and suspense, which have been experienced since the termination of the farm of Ahmadabad, are involved, cannot be increased under the operation of the orders of the 25th of last month. There is no subject under the control of this Government so confused, and about which such contentions and difference have occurred, as the realisation of the Kathiawar tribute, and certainly the reports of your Assistant have not tended to unravel the intricacy in which the question is involved.

Your statement that the claims for tribute and ghasdana of the two Governments are distinct, but intermixed, throughout the whole peninsula cannot be admitted by the Government without the most satisfactory proof of the justness of your impressions. The tribute, which the Chieftains have agreed to pay in perpetuity, was fixed in the comprehension of the Governor-in-Council in commutation and in full of all pecuniary demands whatever. If therefore the Gaikwad Government or its officers have made any additional collections, under whatever denomination it may be, it has been in violation of those engagements, and it remains with you to prove, as you have been called upon to do, its right to the ghasdana collections.

The Governor-in-Council was not ignorant of the objects for which an Assistant was stationed in Kathiawar, but he is surprised at the unqualified assertion contained in the 5th paragraph "that it was never for the realisation of the tribute". The 3, 4 and 5 paragraphs of the instructions of the 10th of January, 1810, distinctly state that it will be the Assistant's duty to see that the permanent engagements, which the Chiefs had entered into for the payment of the just dues of the Gaikwad Government, were enforced.

By the decennial engagement the Chieftains were bound to pay their respective amount of tribute at Baroda only, and not to the local officer at Kathiawar, as you have stated. But that engagement, as already adverted to, was negotiated without any consideration to the rights or the convenience of the Peshwa, whose agent, had that stipulation been observed, would have been obliged to attend at Baroda to receive His Highness's dues. We assumed a right certainly to make the collections in the name of the Peshwa; and if it would be any encroachment on the privilege of the Gaikwad to claim the same might in reference to the latter, the right has arisen out of the weakness and incapacity of the Gaikwad Government, and the superiority which power can command. If the Gaikwad solicited the interposition of that power, it has been exercised to the preservation of His Highness's right in Kathiawar, and the Governor-in-Council has no desire to push it beyond the limits to which we can justly apply it, whether towards the bhumias or the Gaikwad.

The establishment, which the British Government must maintain at Ahmadabad and in its western districts, will enable it to exercise a greater degree of control over Kathiawar and to enforce the obligations of the engagements, contracted by the several Chieftains, more

effectually than has hitherto been experienced, without the necessity of having an Assistant constantly stationed in the province at the entire expense of the Company, whose extra allowance will consequently become a saving to the public.

It will remain, on the renewal of the pecuniary engagements, to determine what establishment it may be necessary for the Gaikwad to maintain in Kathiawar for the realisation of His Highness's claims; and if any should be requisite, it must be borne by His Highness, whose interest is as prominent in that province as those of the British Government, and the charge of maintaining those interests should therefore be borne on a fair and equitable proposition; until that period therefore Captain Ballantine is to remain in Kathiawar.

The observations contained in the 4th, 7th and 11th preceding paragraphs will sufficiently explain the circumstances under which the stipulation for paying the whole of the tribute at Baroda was inserted in the decennial engagements. But the Governor-in-Council is not convinced by any arguments you have advanced, that the British Government is precluded from stipulating in the next pecuniary engagements for the payment of the whole tribute, either at Baroda, or at Ahmadabad, or at such other place, or to such other agent as may be the most convenient to all parties, the most effectual in realising the amount, and prove the least oppressive to the Chieftains. It would appear that the Gaikwad's local officer has received the collections of his Government, an agent not recognised in the decennial engagement. The Governor-in-Council cannot therefore perceive on what grounds, any well-founded objections can be advanced to the constituting of our own agent to receive at least our own dues.

On the 8th paragraph, it need only be necessary to refer you to Colonel Walker's dispatch dated the 15th of May, 1803, to show the motives which influenced the British Government in requiring a settlement of the country of Kathiawar. The leading objects were to relieve the revenues due to the Gaikwad with punctuality and to recover the arrears, and by such an arrangement to prevent the employment of any part of the subsidiary force in mulukgiri circuits. In this the Gaikwad appears to the Governor-in-Council to have had the permanent concern. That the tranquillity of neighbouring territories would naturally flow from and be secured by such an arrangement, is unquestioned.

To the proposition submitted in the 9th paragraph of apportioning the expense of enforcing the engagements by a corresponding levy from all the Chiefs, the Governor-in-Council cannot consent.

The Governor-in-Council having determined, as I have already stated, that Captain Ballantine shall continue in Kathiawar until the termination of the decennial engagements, the person, to whom the future realisation of the tribute is to be entrusted, will be hereafter determined upon.

The Governor-in-Council however expects that the last or tenth year's tribute will be fully realised before the month of June next,

agreeably to the periods stipulated in the decennial engagements, and that Captain Ballantine will not only furnish clear detailed accounts of the state of the collections up to that date, with explanations of the causes of any arrears and of the prospect of realising it, but also report the mode in which the several duties prescribed by his instructions have been performed, with the exception of the state of infanticide, which has formed the subject of separate reports, and of piracy, which appears to have been eradicated.

Baroda, 25th April, 1818 (1818, P. D. 448)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The approach of the period for entering into a permanent system of management in Kathiawar, arising out of the expiration of the decennial engagements with its several tributary Chieftains, and the completion of the negotiations with His Highness the Gaikwad on account of the additional subsidy by our occupation of the city of Ahmadabad and its dependencies, afford me an opportunity of submitting my general sentiments to the consideration of the Right Hon'ble Governor-in-Council, in pursuance of his commands, as expressed in the 10th paragraph of your dispatch bearing date the 25th of June last.

*State of
Kathiawar*

2. In the course of my reflections on this interesting question, I have been led to advert to the state of Kathiawar, when it called for our direct interference, to the arrangements, which were effected by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in 1807, and to the condition of the country since that period with reference to the events which principally appear to have produced it. I have also taken into consideration the different circumstances of our relations with Kathiawar, when acting in the character of an ally, and our present united interests in its future government from the recent acquirement of a moiety of its tribute.

3. It is my intention therefore in this report to offer my observations according to the order by which my ideas on the subject have been regulated; and if something may appear wanting, I must trust to the indulgence of the Hon'ble Board for the importance of the subject and the impossibility perhaps of prescribing any particular system for the good government and happiness of a country, inhabited by a variety of tribes, possessed of different rights and influenced by the most conflicting interests, passions and prejudices.

4. As a general observation it may be premised that the ruin of a State or country proceeds either from internal commotion, foreign invasion, or the debasement of the national character—all these appear to have operated in producing the miserable condition of Kathiawar, previous to the interposition of British influence.

*Cause of
ruin*

5. The state of that country is described in the reports of the Resident at Baroda of the [7th] of October, 1807, and 12th January 1808,¹ and the motives, which prompted the British

¹ See Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XXXIX, Part I, pp. 93-112, 175-204.

Government, from its humane and enlightened policy, to remove the misery and anarchy into which it was plunged, are fully detailed by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. The causes which produced our interference, developing the disinterested benevolence of Government and obvious benefits to the Chiefs, secured the ready co-operation and acquiescence of all parties.

6. The test of the excellence of the arrangements formed, which were confined to the regular realisation of a moderate tribute, without the destructive practice of a mulukgiri force, and to the dismissal of the armed forces of the Chiefs, before directed in fomenting internal dissensions, will be found in their undeviating observance by the Chieftains.

7. An acquaintance with the various tribes in Kathiawar, their ferocious habits and animosities, their opinions and mode of life, will render it a matter of astonishment that any measures, short of continual coercion, could have reduced them to a fixed system of order; and diversified as the people and their interests continue to be, the entire revolution in their habits (confirmed by ancient usages), which considered a state of warfare and resistance as honourable, in contradiction to a state of peace, has been exemplified since the decennial arrangements were introduced by my predecessor.

8. The chief objects of reforms consisted: First, in the abolition of the mulukgiri annual collection of the revenue by a Maratha force. It was not the amount levied, but the unsettled state of the country from the systematic opposition of the Chiefs and the predatory habits of irregular troops, which preyed on its vitals, and constituted the primary causes of its distress. Secondly, security for the punctual payment of a fixed revenue under the denomination of tribute for good behaviour in the Chieftains, and the consequent relinquishment of domestic feuds and plundering excursions. Nothing remained on this limited principle of interference in Kathiawar, but the appointment of a force (which had been subsidised for the express purpose by the Gaikwad Government) to resist foreign aggression and to restrain and chastise any partial disregard of the agreements by the Chiefs.

*Summary
of events*

9. It appears essential that the objects, which Lieutenant-Colonel Walker had in view in 1807, should be well understood, as affording the standard by which the results of his arrangements can only be justly estimated. The strict observance of the engagements, then contracted between the Superior Governments and the Chieftains, would have embraced every expectation, which was at that time contemplated, and it remains to be seen by what causes these expectations can have disappointed the hopes of Government.

10. As a general proposition it will not be denied that any change in the habits of the larger divisions of mankind must be progressive, and that it would be fallacious to calculate on a sudden alteration in the character of a people, similar to those under consideration. Indeed, if in the infancy of the new system the engagements had in some instances been violated under the absence of a

powerful force, which was the fact in Kathiawar on Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's return to the seat of his authority, it would have been in the natural course of events.

11. Referring however to the decennial engagements, I am not sensible of any instance of infringement or even evasion of them. The submission of the Chiefs to authority and their forbearance from internal dissension or habits of rapine yield evidence of the efficacy of the fundamental principles of our interference in 1807; and if in one case the resistance at Navanagar could be cited, it must be recollected that the sole causes for an equipment of a force were to reform that powerful petty State, distracted by the intellectual imbecility of the successor to Jam Jasaji, the treachery of its soldiery and the usurpations of its dependants.

12. In proceeding to enumerate the obstructions to the happy progress of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's system, it should first be observed that the whole of them are fortuitous and foreign, without a solitary example of the disregard of the obligation of the decennial engagements, though such impediments have materially contributed to their detriment.

13. The first expedition into Kathiawar in 1807 was purely on account of the interests of the allied Governments for the improvement of that country. The service against Malia in 1809, which was not a tributary or implicated in any engagements, had in view the suppression of the disorders which had been rooted out in the peninsula. The expenses of this equipment were derived from the country and the restoration of the small fort of Kandhadar. The remaining services in the same year were directed to the promotion of an intimate connection with the State of Cutch, a reform in the Government of Porbandar, and for the purpose of restraining the pirate communities, objects purely of our foreign and domestic policy. The services at Chhaya in the Porbandar taluka in 1810 (which by the cession of a proportion of its customs was connected with the Company) and that which followed in 1811/12 against Navanagar had not the remotest application to the decennial arrangements, the former affecting a domestic dissension which was speedily reconciled, and the latter arising exclusively from the engagements of the Company to the Cutch State for the discharge of a debt.¹ Every expense was disbursed to the Government, including the corps of the Gaikwad subsidiary then employed.

14. The expedition in 1815 was called for by revolutions in the states of Navanagar, and although uncommon, since the first circuit of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, had their origin in the intrigues of designing [men] on the resumption of the Peshwa's authority in Gujarat. On this occasion as on every other, the Company redeemed their expenses from the Chief.

15. Considering the combined extension of such expeditions and the enormous reimbursements called for from the Chiefs, in *Causes of distress*

¹ See The Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. VIII.

addition to the tribute to the Gaikwad and Peshwa, I presume it will afford very strong grounds for the poverty of the country, and why it is not now found in the condition existing even at the period of our first interference; but there are other causes which have operated in a more destructive degree to its prosperity than all the pecuniary burdens incident to our demands.

16. I allude to the famine of 1812, the destruction by locusts and other vermin, which, it is universally known, fell with unexampled rigour on this devoted province. No conception can easily be formed of these dreadful evils except by the record of the fact that nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population of the country became the victims of the calamity, either by death, or emigration to other places, from whence they have not returned. This scourge was followed in the succeeding year by a pestilence and the temporary desertion of the remaining inhabitants from their homes under such afflictions which were beyond the power of human foresight. Can it be expected that Kathiawar could enjoy a moderate share of prosperity or that the wisest plans of Government would have been frustrated?

17. In addition to these visitations of Providence, the devastation of the country from Vagad in Cutch and the western desert for some seasons, which ultimately demanded the measures taken with the Cutch Government, and the incompetency of our defensive means cannot be overlooked, since in their consequence much of the condition of a large division of Kathiawar may be accounted for.

18. The foregoing observations will probably demonstrate to the Right Honourable Governor-in-Council that the distresses of Kathiawar have been occasioned by very different causes than by a deficiency in the measures carried into effect by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. It will tend more particularly to establish this fact, when it is considered that the arrangements of this officer have not had the benefit of that support and unity of authority which was contemplated on their projection. Circumstances did not enable the British Government to administer effectually to the reiterated external attacks from the westward, and the discordance of authority in Gujarat was calculated to shake public confidence. This conclusion is warranted from the opinions expressed in your dispatch dated the 3rd May, 1815, of which I shall take the liberty of quoting the 8th paragraph. "Since the termination however of the farm of Ahmadabad, some of the inferior Chieftains of Kathiawar had betrayed a disposition to return to those habits of plunder on the peaceable, and well disposed part of the community, by which they were formerly distinguished, and your dispatches now under reply afford abundant proofs of the necessity of immediately checking the evils by an exemplary punishment of the Jodiya Chieftains, more especially as their disposition appears by the evidence, contained in those dispatches, to be encouraged by the Peshwa, a conduct upon which a representation has been made to the Resident at Poona".

Prospects

19. The cessions of the Peshwa's tribute of Kathiawar to the Hon'ble Company must now remove many difficulties, and with an

efficient and regular force secure and maintain the peace of the peninsula and the rights and interests of the Government and the Chieftains.

20. It will also remove any complaints of unauthorised exactions on the part of the Gaikwad's local officers, if there are good grounds for entertaining them, though I must remark that the continued silence of my Assistant on this important question, on any specific cases in which they have existed, leads me at present, under the information I propose to submit in the sequel, to hesitate in charging the servants of this Government with acts of such serious misconduct.

21. Taking the arrangements of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker as the model of those which Government might desire to apply under existing circumstances, the means of full and efficient protection to Kathiawar generally, which it has not hitherto enjoyed in any shape, is a paramount consideration. On a full investigation it will be found that Kathiawar since the resumption of the Peshwa's authority at Ahmadabad has not had the advantage of local means of internal control, which were confidently anticipated by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. The dispatch from Mr. Secretary Henderson, dated the 3rd of May, 1815, observes in the concluding paragraphs. "It is not unknown to Captain Ballantine that Colonel Walker ever maintained that the Gaikwad commander would be able to preserve the tranquillity of the province and of course the realisation of the tribute by the forces of his own State, with such other means as the custom of the country might authorise under the salutary impressions which have been made by our interference, the effects of which Captain Ballantine should not allow to be weakened or forgotten." My dispatches of 12th of July and 10th of September, 1816, ventured to suggest additional establishment on account of our being vested with the charge of the rights of the Peshwa and the reduction of the Gaikwad's army in a ratio commensurate with his interests and responsibilities in that Province.

22. The spirit of the obligations, which have been contracted, imposes upon the British Government the duty of defending Kathiawar, and its present direct and collateral interests demand that the means should be at hand to suppress internal disturbance. The Gaikwad subsidiary force can afford a sufficiency of troops for that purpose, which after careful examination may be stationed in positions that will yield the results expected from arrangement of that nature.

23. In regard to the revenues which should henceforward be derived, I beg leave in the first place to submit two statements of the realisations on account of the Peshwa for the year 1871 (1815) and 1872 (1816), which I have derived at this place from Sunderji Shivji, who had lent his assistance to Captain Ballantine. The details have been rendered as complete as my information would allow, and there is no reason to believe them incorrect.

23. In this document, which appertains entirely to the Peshwa's share, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will perceive that the ghasdana claims of the Gaikwad and its share of tribute in the

talukas are specified. This participation of dues is obtained from the established practice, previous to the circuit of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker; and as they were incorporated by that officer in the gross amounts of tribute, I presume it must have arisen from the conviction that the course of our policy at that period would never have interfered with the exclusive authority of the Gaikwad in the province of Kathiawar, an inference which I venture to make from the fact of the Peshwa not having even been consulted in our projected reforms in that quarter.

24. Annexed to this document is an abstract statement of the balance of tribute due to the Gaikwad, when the whole of the dues were in the hands of that Government, during six years or from 1864 to 1870 (1808-1814) inclusive, amounting, after a remission on account of the famine and any other causes to Rupees 2,41,726-3-50, to the large sum of Rupees 9,84,825-1-75, calculated with interest to 1870 (1814). I am not in possession of any accounts from my Assistant or other quarters of the particulars of the recoverances by the Gaikwad during the six years of the management by the sarsubah or the realisations made by him or Captain Ballantine on the Gaikwad's account since the year 1870, (1814). Neither does the document, which I have now the honour of submitting, have any reference to the dues of the Gaikwad in Kathiawar generally, except as they are available from the tributaries, who paid to the Peshwa. Adverting to the columns in the account, which show the additional assessments to the amount settled by Colonel Walker, it is necessary to explain that these assessments do not appear to have been imposed on States, whose tribute was fixed by the Resident in his decennial engagements. But, as each State is divided into numerous bhayads, and even single villages pay a settled tribute, many of them appear not to have been included in the general statement in 1807, and consequently were afterwards assessed. It will be desirable for complete information to acquire a detailed account, similar to the one now enclosed, of recoverances of the Gaikwad during six years ending in 1870 (1814), particularly as it will be some guide by which it can be discovered during the proposed circuit whether any undue exactions have been made.

25. The circumstance of so large a balance up to the year 1870 (1814) as Rupees 9,84,825-1-75, and that the Gaikwad has contracted a considerable debt for his expenses in Kathiawar, owing to the heavy defalcation in the revenue, would rather dispose one to believe that his officers have not violated the engagements, which the British Government have guaranteed. It was the particular duty of the Assistant in Kathiawar to have watched his proceedings in as far as they affected the tributary States, and there has been no reason from his dispatches to form decided unfavourable conclusions.

*Future
assessment*

26. The account and its explanations, to it, will probably enable the Hon'ble Board to fix the standard of revenue which good policy would suggest to be levied for a term of years from the province of Kathiawar. The distress of the country and the considerable time it will require to be regenerated, added to the

heavy claims of arrears which exist apparently from causes beyond the power of control, seem to my humble judgment to require that a liberal and enlightened course be adopted, where, on investigation, a remission is justifiable in the amount of perpetual tribute, and that an active system of superintendence is established, by which the rights of the Chiefs and their efficient care and protection will be ensured. The local British officer, entrusted with these duties, may be associated with the Gaikwad authority, and required to be vigilant of his conduct and proceeding, a system which would be equally efficient with the entire exclusion of the authority of this Government, in a province in which its interest are equal to our own, and more likely to obtain its consent and satisfactory co-operation. At the same time it may be necessary that the British authority possesses within himself adequate means of performing his duty either of political superintendence or the collection of the Company's tribute, with a corresponding establishment and the aid of a body of irregular horse for the purpose of communication with the Chieftains. The tributaries of the Company may be required, as observed in the 2nd paragraph of your letter of the 20th of August, 1816, to pay their tribute at Ahmadabad, which, it appears, can be done without the slightest degree of difficulty.

27. Such arrangements, added for a short time at least to a moderate scale of assessment, will promise many advantages. Prevention of intestine commotion and protection from external aggression is the basis of all projects for the improvement of any country; where these ends are attained, security of property and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, with all their concurrent advantages, may be confidently anticipated.

28. I take this occasion of submitting for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the enclosed copy of a letter from Captain Ballantine in pursuance of the orders of Government, contained in your dispatch of the 16th of January last. The statement of this Gentleman on the present condition of Kathiawar is corroborative of my general conclusions on the subject in the course of this address. Its poverty cannot be displayed in a more striking degree than in the cases of Morvi and Silah, which are detailed in the accompanying transcripts of letter from my Assistant; and the causes can in no shape be ascribed, with these States at least, to any implied misconduct on the part of the Gaikwad authorities, but to the most calamitous events. The proposed remissions to the Chief of Morvi have been noticed and recommended to the adoption of the Gaikwad Government for many months. I have found the greatest reluctance to a concession to the extent suggested by Captain Ballantine on grounds which appear reasonable, namely that a remission of dues in one case to a considerable amount will leave this Government with a load of debt on account of Kathiawar, which had been contracted for current expenses in the confidence of the recovery of the established tribute. I have, for these reasons, felt unable to reconcile the Administration to the adoption of a measure which, from the reduced condition of the Morvi Chief, appears ultimately

unavoidable. An inquiry into the actual means of the Chief, perhaps exceeding what he represents, considering that he has spoken to Captain Ballantine of his ability of successful resistance to the Gaikwad, if unfettered from British influence, may best be instituted on the renewal of our engagements in Kathiawar, and previous to an arrangement with this Government for its concert in our general principles of reform throughout Kathiawar. Before I conclude with Captain Ballantine's dispatches, it may be necessary to remark that the quoted instructions from me, mentioned in the 6th paragraph of his letter of the 10th February last, were founded on the orders of Government, and a copy of them formed the enclosure No. 2 to my dispatch to your address of the 15th of June 1817; and that I conclude his statements of arrears in Jhalawar form only a part of those belonging to the Gaikwad noted in enclosure No. 1 of this dispatch.

Future prospects

29. Adverting to the different circumstances, in which the British Government is placed in Kathiawar by its acquirement of the Peshwa's tribute, and to the general responsibilities of a guarantee, my own opinion inclines to the eventual feasibilities of accomplishing a system of Government, which would administer to the prosperity and happiness of the country. But many difficulties present themselves to its execution, the most prominent of which consists in the Hon'ble Company having been constituted a perpetual guarantee to the Chieftains for the integrity of their territories. The tenacity also, with which these Chieftains have been accustomed from the earliest times to hold their hereditary rights and possessions, and the scenes of blood and desolation which have been displayed by the spoliation of the most trifling amount of movable property by one Chief from the possessions of another, as well as their uniform resistance to the encroachments of the Marathas, all seem to discourage the hope that, until time has matured our intimate connection with them, and chastened their minds to an alteration in their conditions, they will be little inclined to transfer the management and protection of their rights and interests to the British and Gaikwad Governments for the consideration of a stipend. No engagements superior to the present can easily be devised as "more binding on the actions and consciences of the Native Chieftains". These engagements were contracted with a view of establishing a system, which was better than the state of things it removed; and it can be no impeachment of the wisdom of them, if at present they appear less applicable than at the period of their execution.

30. At the same time it may be admitted that a system, which could be tendered to the adoption of a Maratha State, would be defective and objectionable to the practice of the British Government. I am not aware that any other leading object was contemplated by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker than that the country should be relieved from the scourge of a mulukgiri army, added to a reform in the military habits of the Chiefs and their recognition of a fixed annual tribute; and though these views may fall short of our duty to Kathiawar under our existing connection with it, much was gained.

from the Maratha Government for the harrassed and oppressed people of that country.

31. The British Government at present may be placed, from the condition of apathy and inactivity into which the Chiefs have declined from the natural operation of the calamitous events in that quarter for some years past, in the predicament of preserving the obligations of its public faith to the Chiefs at the hazard of the happiness of the people.

32. The reconciliation of these relative duties must be considered a task of great delicacy, capable perhaps of being performed only by *progressive degrees*, and in the assurance of the occurrence of events, which will afford justifiable opportunities of leading the different Chiefs to consult their real personal comforts and the prosperity of their subjects. But great and important changes in a people can be accomplished only by the application of measures which gradually and imperceptibly subdue their attachment to ancient opinions and institutions. The characters and capacities for good government of the generality of the Chieftains will not bear examination; and it is an evil, which pervades many parts of India, that power is prostituted to injustice and to the interested designs of mercenary dependants. The toleration of such a system in any country, with which an enlightened Government is intimately connected, will arise from a regard to hereditary rights and in Kathiawar to the peculiar obligation of faith in which the Hon'ble Company is placed. A sudden revolution from the imposing attitude of power in the acknowledged titles of the Chieftains, is neither the wish of the British Government, nor compatible with its policy on the strict dictates of justice. while on the other hand a gradual amelioration of the condition of Kathiawar by the substitution of a more efficient and powerful Government, with due attention to the interests of all parties, becomes almost a natural consequence of our present predominant influence.

Baroda, 21st May, 1818 (1818, P.D. 453)

1818

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will be pleased to submit for the information of the *Kathiawar* Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy of a *trouble* letter from my Assistant in Kathiawar with copy of my reply. The paper in the Gujarati version, enclosed in the former, contains reports of various petty disturbances in the country, which could be suppressed by a seasonable application to the Gaikwad authority; but it does not appear from the inquiries which I have made, that the Diwanji has been called upon to act with his troops, in which he is averse to interfere unless authorised or required, considering that many of the Chiefs, in whose limits the disturbances exist, are tributary to the Company.

2. Although I have often received notifications from Captain Ballantine of internal commotions, the particulars of those which are most important, were unknown to me until my late visit to Gogha, whither the Gaikwad authority prepared to meet me.

3. The principal disputes, which have already led, or are likely to lead to bloodshed, appear to exist between the Bhavnagar Thakur, and the Nawab of Junagarh, and the Sidi of Jafarabad with the Kathi of Dedaun. There are other disturbances between the Badelee, Jasdan and Bhimora Kathis, excited by contentions regarding boundary possession; but from the habits of the Kathis such disputes could with due promptitude be easily adjusted.

4. The difference however between the other parties is of a more serious character, as, independent of their power and respectability and the effect of bad example from them, their conduct appears to me to militate against the decennial engagements.

5. The Thakur of Bhavnagar, having had claim to five villages in Babriawar, which are said to be ryot villages of Junagarh, though belonging to Babrias, and paying a jamabandi to the Gaikwad, took possession of them from a Jamadar Nurdin, who had formerly been in the service of Bhavnagar and is now in that of Junagarh. The Thakur of the former place represented that the villages were subject to him antecedent to Colonel Walker's arrangements, which admitted the occupation of any territory at that time in possession of the different Chiefs, with an interdiction against further encroachments or conquests. Many years however appear to have elapsed without the Thakur of Bhavnagar venturing to assume charge of the villages, and this circumstance creates seasonable doubts of his title to them. The Junagarh Nawab prepared to [make] the reusurpation, and had assembled troops for that purpose; but, as I had a meeting with the Thakur of Bhavnagar, in which he was made fully aware of the serious consequences of his taking the law into his own hands, there is a probability of a peaceable issue to their hostile attitudes. The Thakur of Bhavnagar expressed himself quite willing to suspend his claim, until it could be investigated on the renewal of the decennial engagements.

6. The conduct of the Sidi of Jafarabad has however been attended with the loss of many lives. He has asserted a claim for Pal in Babriawar with retrospection to 20 years, which I am assured, is perfectly novel and unauthorised in the country. He had engaged himself to the Gaikwad to assume no rights of revenue beyond his possessions. In prosecution of his unjustifiable demand from the Kathi of Dedaun, serious resistance has been made, and the Sidi has lately met a signal defeat. Both parties were however sedulous in their collection of the means of hostility, when I was at Gogha; and I deemed it proper to address the Sidi, recommending him to desist from enforcing his demand, and referring it to the justice of my Assistant and the Gaikwad authority, who would afford him an impartial hearing. The Sidi had previously, it appears, disregarded the admonitions of the sarsubah to a similar effect.

7. Disturbances of the nature I have stated, are not of so much importance in themselves as in the impressions they are calculated to raise in a country, which may be said to be only emerging

from a state, in which the pursuits of rapine and disorder were contemplated as honourable or essential to the comforts or dignities of the Chiefs. The idea, which they produce of a relaxation of the power of the Superior Governments, or a want of unity in our system of government or control, is susceptible of raising the spirit of disorder throughout an extent of the country, where society only wants impunity for the commission of any enormity. As far as it has been in my power during my very limited stay at Gogha, I have applied every present remedy by requiring the Diwanji to act with vigour, in communication with my Assistant, wherever a propensity to disorder is apparent, or a disregarded evinced to the decennial engagements. The answer, which Captain Ballantine received to his letter, now enclosed, will also prepare him to apply for the co-operation of the Gaikwad troops and the experience and the influence of the Diwanji.

8. I availed myself of the opportunity of meeting the sarsubah *Arrears of tribute-* to institute general inquiries into the condition of Kathiawar and particularly as to the amount of arrears of tribute due to this Government. I was surprised to find that to the conclusion of the present year, on the Mrigsal in the ensuing month, he calculated on a rough estimate the large sum of 19 or 20 lakhs outstanding on account of Gaikwad tribute; and when I interrogated him on the cause of such a large balance, he stated that for the last six years the collections have been obtained through my Assistant. At the same time he denied the inability of the Chiefs paying their dues, though in some cases there are causes which require consideration; but he was warm in his assertions of the perfect ease with which the Chief of Morvi could discharge the demand upon him. He commented on the conduct of the Morvi Chieftain, declaring him to have always received the utmost lenity, which could not be better exemplified than in the large reduction made in the Gaikwad's tribute on that taluka by Colonel Walker and the recent remuneration he has raised from the state of Cutch; and that he was thence disposed to abuse the indulgence and even to set the Gaikwad at defiance. He proceeded to say that, as Colonel Walker, when he executed the decennial bonds, distinctly informed every Chieftain that in default of the payment of the stipulated tribute their dominions would be occupied, and a stipend assigned for their maintenane, the Gaikwad had a right to expect full compensation from the Morvi Chief or the surrender of the taluka into his hands, provided it could be substantiated, which he was willing to do, that that Chief had the power of discharging at least a very considerable part of the arrears due from him.

9. The fact of so large an account as 19 or 20 lakhs being due, will show the necessity of measures being taken to recover the amount or a part of it. There can be little doubt that the different Chiefs, suffering no present inconvenience from the accumulation of the tributary dues, hope to find pretext for remission, when the sum demanded is large; and perhaps some of the distresses, already asserted, have been adduced with that design. In the meanwhile the Gaikwad is suffering to a serious extent, where he had the best title to suppose his revenues to be permanent and secure.

Letter from J. Henderson to James R. Carnac, dated 17th September 1818.

-Approval I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 21st of May, with its enclosures, on the subject of various disturbances in Kathiawar particularly those existing between the Thakur of Bhavnagar and the Nawab of Junagarh, and the Sidi of Jaffarabad and the Kathi of Dedaun.

2. Your conduct in prevailing on the Chieftains of Bhavnagar and Junagarh to refrain from proceeding to extremities and to suspend the adjustment of all objects of controversy till the renewal of the decennial engagements, is entirely approved; and the influence, which you have exercised in the instance of the disputes existing between the Sidi of Jaffarabad and the Kathi of Dedaun, is generally deserving of approbation.

3. The Governor-in-Council relies on their difference being adjusted by your Assistant on those principles of equity and justice, which have invariably marked the conduct of the British Government; and although it is hardly to be expected that an arbitration will be satisfactory to all, the contending parties should be given to understand that, as this Government has no private views to gratify, and is not disposed to show favour or partiality to any, it is expected that they will abide by your decision; and that the Governor-in-Council will mark with its displeasure any resistance to that decision.

4. During the absence of a military force from Kathiawar it may occasionally be necessary to require the aid of the Diwanji, but the necessity or otherwise of the case will be determined by your Assistant; and the instructions, which appear from your letter to have been given, will, there can be given no doubt, be sufficient to render the services of the Diwanji available, if they should be required.

5. The effects of these disputes cannot be otherwise than highly injurious, and the parties as well as the rest of the Chieftains must be given to understand that they are not to take the law into their own hands, otherwise they may think themselves aggrieved; but that they should look up to the superior authority to control the proceedings of those who may be disposed to disturb the tranquillity of the province, and to inflict such punishment on the offending party as the circumstances may appear to require.

6. The Governor-in-Council was concerned, on the receipt of the dispatch now under consideration, to observe that so large an arrear of tribute should be due to the Gaikwad Government. How far the Morvi Chieftain may be in a condition to liquidate his arrears, remains to be ascertained. If he should be in that condition, of which doubts are entertained, and should resist their liquidation, there can be only one course to pursue; but it will be desirable to avoid the last extremity, especially if he should discharge a portion of the arrears, and manifest a disposition to liquidate the remainder, whenever the means may be within his reach.

Ahmadabad, 16th August, 1818 (1818, P. D. 455)

1818

John A. Dunlop, Collector of Ahmadabad, to Francis Warden.

In consequence of the intimation communicated in several letters from you respecting the establishment of the new zilla and, subsequently of the 13th December last, of the determination of Government to place the collection of the Kathiawar tribute under this Collectorship, I have occupied myself with acquiring such general information respecting the situation and rights of the tributaries both in Kathiawar and in this neighbourhood, as the records here afforded, which I now beg you will submit to Government for such instructions as they may be pleased to issue on the subject. Kathiawar
tribute

As the mutual dependence of these on the Governments of the Peshwa and Gaikwad, with their obligations to either as superiors, can only be ascertained by a short notice of the original division of the country between those Powers and of the subsequent occurrences which may have affected that arrangement, I shall take a short review of these circumstances, so far as I have been able to acquire a knowledge of them.

I have not been able to procure any copy of the original treaty of division between the Peshwa's and Gaikwad's Governments, but have still hopes of succeeding in this or, at least, of obtaining authentic information respecting the appropriation of territories from the grandson of one of the amirs, by whom it was made; but the portions of each may perhaps be sufficiently ascertained for my present purpose by the districts subjected to their different authorities, which there can be no occasion for troubling Government with a detail of here.

The division took place in the first part of the year of Samvat 1809, when the influence and local knowledge of the Gaikwad enabled that Government to secure for themselves the most valuable share; and it appears that affairs continued to be managed according to this arrangement till Samvat 1853.

In this year the Gaikwad authorities collected 43,000 or 44,000 Rupees on various pretences from the Peshwa's dependencies in Kathiawar, which however the Gaikwad vakil at Poona, Raoba Bawa, was obliged to refund to the treasury there.

In Samvat 1856 Ahmadabad was taken from Shelukar, the Peshwa's manager, by the Gaikwad's forces; after which the whole of Gujarat and Kathiawar remained under their management for four years till 1860, when the Peshwa's rights in the province were farmed to the Gaikwad for 10 years. How the accounts of the management for the intermediate time was settled, there is no means of ascertaining.

The Gaikwad Government were thus constituted sole managers; but, contemplating the probability of the farm being resumed, commenced a system of encroachment on the rights of the Peshwa, which continued until the actual resumption of the farm in Samvat 1871.

After the year of Samvat 1854 (when the mulukgiris of both Government were farmed to one person, and the collections equally made in consequence) from various causes no mulukgiri force went into Kathiawar till Samvat 1859, when Babaji Appaji collected for three years at once, and again in 1861 made the same collection.

After the farm was granted to the Gaikwad Government, their officers continued to increase the contributions of the Chieftains all over Kathiawar, till Colonel Walker made a settlement for 10 years in Samvat 1864, which has now expired.

This settlement has been, I believe, nominally adhered to, except where the ravages of the famine reduced the population to such a state that remission became necessary; and I have reason to think that the tribute would be generally paid, without the intervention of an armed force, were the Chieftains assured that their talukas would be held responsible for any defalcation or misconduct.

The good policy of such an arrangement seems evident; a settlement being effected from this place would be a public testimony of their dependence, it would save the different tributaries all the expenses incident to the employment of a force for the settlement of their contributions, which are much greater than may be at first imagined.

The necessity for such a measure implies that some preparations for resistance have been made, which are not only expensive beyond all other kinds of extravagance, but tend to keep alive the very spirit and habits which Government are most anxious to discourage.

The rights also of these people, though they may now be perfectly secure under our Government, have been hitherto preserved only by the expedients of resistance, so long as any hope of success remained, and afterwards by bribing the persons sent to suppress it.

The conviction of this fact is so strong as to have rendered these expedients fixed principles with every Chief of Kathiawar; and now that all hope of successful resistance has nearly expired, its alternative is probably followed with increased earnestness.

The ever-growing fortunes, acquired by the native agents employed, seem sufficiently to prove this, and I am assured by persons acquainted with the subject that large sums are annually paid under the denomination of sukdi, which have obtained almost the same sanction from custom as the established tribute.

The general character in which the British have hitherto appeared in Kathiawar is that of protectors from encroachment and oppression, of which the instances, in which a contumacious resistance to the legitimate rights of superiors has drawn down punishment on the guilty, have exhibited such salutary examples as to obviate much chance of similar exertions of power being again necessary.

Under these circumstances it appears to me that, if formal intimations under the authority of Government were issued, as above

noticed, declaring the talukas or possessions of each individual responsible, they would attend here either personally or by their agents. They could here feel no apprehension for their rights being usurped (as in the case of an armed force marching into their country), and would therefore probably save the expensive preparations, still sometimes made, as well as the expense and the destructive habits of bribery, which the present system seems to have given rise to.

It would also encourage a beneficial resort to this city, where these people would become acquainted with a better order of society than in their own country; which might create a desire to improve their own situations and circumstances by imitating the improvements of the rich districts of Gujarat.

The principal encroachments however, which have actually come under my observation, on the Peshwa's rights have been made in those districts nearer the seat of Gaikwad's authority and subject to the visitations of the Kantha mulukgiri force.

The places to which I allude are the Chowal, a dependency of Viramgam, some part of the Prantij districts, with the whole of the Panch Mahal Mewasi villages, placed under the Collector of the eastern division, who will, I have no doubt, bring the subject also to the notice of Government.

In the Chowal, about one hundred years ago during the Muhamadan Governments, a regular taksim jama was collected in the same manner as from the other ryot districts of Gujarat; but this has been by degrees converted into a peshkash or payment without reference to the taksim or share of the produce.

The same spirit which led them to resist and finally to gain their object of paying only a peshkash, combined with the natural difficulties of their country, induced the inhabitants to adopt predatory habits, which rendered them extremely troublesome neighbours.

Kadi being the nearest station of any regular establishment, the managers of that place were frequently obliged to undertake expeditions against them; which led gradually to the establishment of ghasdana collections from the Mewasis of the district. This happened so far back as the year of Samvat 1843, so that those may be supposed to be established by prescription.

Since the farm of the Peshwa's possessions however to the Gaikwad, all these collections have been increased; and as it appears clearly that farmers for a temporary period could not permanently alienate the rights of the sovereign, I request the sanction of Government to institute an inquiry into these abuses, and that I be authorised to restrict all ghasdana collections for the future to the amounts which were established during the Peshwa's Government or previous to the Gaikwad farm of the Peshwa's possessions; which, since the sovereignty has been vested in the Hon'ble Company, there can be no doubt of our right to do.

I also request the same authority for Prantij, where the same progressive encroachments have been made.

I may add that the gradual increase of the ghasdana collections has occasioned a corresponding increase in the jama which formerly belonged exclusively to the Peshwa. The peshkash has fallen off so much as to be scarcely worth collecting in some places.

1818 *Bombay, 20th October, 1818 (1818, P. D. 457)*

J. Wedderburn, Accountant General, to the Chief Secretary.

Kathiawar I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of
tribute the 5th instant, calling upon me to report the sums that may have been received by the Resident at Baroda since the 1st of November, 1814, as tribute from the Chieftains of Kathiawar, either on account of the last Peshwa or of the British Government up to the date of the receipt of the last accounts from the Resident.

In obedience thereto, I beg leave to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, a statement comprising all the receipts on account of Kathiawar tribute from the period in question up to the 31st of August last, being the date of the last accounts received from Baroda.

Statement of sums received by the Resident at Baroda, as tribute from the Chieftains of Kathiawar, credited in his cash accounts from the 1st November 1814 to the 31st of August 1818.

Tribute Total Rupees 11,34,374,-0-25.

1818 *Baroda, 24th December, 1818 (1818, P. D. 442)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Delay I do myself the honour of enclosing the copy of a letter with its enclosures from my Assistant, and to notice that the dispatch to which he refers, (relating to the realisation of the Peshwa's tribute) will be forwarded hereafter with other information regarding Kathiawar.

2. Deducing from the tenor of Captain Ballantine's letter that the Chieftains have heard from other quarters of the change intended by Government in the authority over the tributary dues, and that it has excited some attention, it would probably be desirable to postpone any change under the feelings which my Assistant describes, until the times are more settled or the expiration of the decennial engagements in June next.

Letter from Francis Warden to James R. Carnac, dated 16th January.

Company's I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to
policy acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th December, enclosing one from your Assistant in Kathiawar.

My letter of the 9th instant will have apprised you of the determination of the Governor-in-Council to permit Captain Ballantine to

continue in that province until the termination of the decennial engagements.

The dispatch will also have apprised you that the Governor-in-Council could form no idea of any unfavourable consequences likely to result from confiding to the Collector of the revenues the realisation of the tribute from the different Chieftains, ceded to the British Government, nor of any difficulty being experienced in separating the pecuniary from the political duties.

With regard to the attention that has been excited from the Chieftains having heard from other quarters of the change intended by Government in the authority over the tributary dues, it appears to the Governor-in-Council to have been entirely practicable, as it certainly was the duty of your Assistant, to have satisfactorily explained to them that no change was contemplated inconsistent with the objects of the engagements which have been in force for so many years, and under the operation of which they have enjoyed so much protection and security, compared with the state of devastation and misery to which their territories were exposed prior to the interposition of the British Government in the affairs of Kathiawar, with the exception of those predatory incursions against which the Chieftains themselves should have protected their respective possessions.

That the Peshwa having ceded his share of the tribute to the British Government, of which the several Chieftains, it is presumed, have been already apprised, it may be necessary to appoint another agent to realise, the amount as fixed in perpetuity, an arrangement which has in view their own convenience equally with that of the British Government.

You will avail yourself of the same opportunity of apprising the several Chieftains of the intention of the Government to renew the decennial engagements in June next, when such further arrangements may be made as the experience of the last ten years may have suggested as essential to the further security and prosperity of the province of Kathiawar.

Baroda, 18th February, 1820 (1820, P. D. 479)

1820

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

I have upon two different occasions entered upon a discussion of the Kathiawar question with His Highness Sayajirao in order to ascertain His Highness's sentiments upon that important subject. *Kathiawar trouble*

2. In the first place I fully explained the causes that compelled the British Government to take such an interest in the affairs of that Province, which had within the last seven or eight years rapidly declined in prosperity and, unless some timely remedy should be applied, would eventually end in its ruin.

3. I impressed upon His Highness my conviction that the unfortunate result of our arrangements in that quarter was in a great measure attributable to the undue exactions of his officers, and the

excesses of the mulukgiri army, which being in direct contradiction to the guarantee, which the British Government had given to the Chieftains of that country, [*the British could not*] any longer be silent spectators of their approaching ruin.

4. The [*appointment*] of an Assistant into Kathiawar, which was done with the concurrence of His Highness's Government, had only partially checked the prevailing abuses, which was naturally to be expected, as the authority vested in him was quite inadequate for the purpose; and the consequence has been that many of Chieftains are actually unable to pay the tribute, of which there is now every probability of a small part only being realised.

5. I pointed out to His Highness that the revenues he derived from his share of Kathiawar, were not sufficient to defray the expenses of his mulukgiri army and his other establishments, to pay which a sum of three or four lakhs of Rupees were required to be sent annually from Baroda.

6. I likewise took this opportunity of impressing upon His Highness the absolute necessity of preserving the strictest economy in every branch of his government, in order to render him sooner to be able to discharge the very heavy debts owing by his State to the different bankers under the guarantee of the British Government; and after this I proceeded to point out to him that by adopting the plan suggested, of delegating to Captain Ballantine full authority over his possessions in Kathiawar and withdrawing his army from the Province (which might with greater advantage, to his dominions be employed on the north west frontier of Gujarat) His Highness would, if not immediately, in a very short period receive the whole of the tribute into his treasury, clear of any further reduction than the expenses incident to the deputation of Captain Ballantine, which would be very trifling.

7. His Highness expressed his surprise at receiving such a proposal from Government as that of removing his sarsubahs and mulukgiri from Kathiawar and relinquishing the collection of a tribute, in the acquisition of which his ancestors had wasted so much blood and treasure; that, with the exception of his force in Kathiawar, he had none which could strictly be called an army; that for him to give up his possessions in the Province would be a lasting disgrace and stigma to his character; and that the annual loss of three or four lakhs of Rupees was not to be compared to the loss of reputation which his Government and himself, as the head of it, would sustain by giving his consent to such a proposal.

8. He then went on to remark the regret always manifested by his late brother Fatesing for allowing himself to be persuaded to give up Ahmedabad; that his Government had always proved a staunch and firm supporter of British instructions from the first formation of the alliance, which needed no other proof than the very material assistance afforded to us in the late war.

9. His Highness concluded his remarks by adverting to the enormous expense he incurred by keeping up the contingent of horse in

Malwa; and that he had expected the British Government would have marked its sense of this essential service, by giving him one or two mahals out of the territory we had acquired by the late conquests, as he had heard that Zalimsing of Kotah, Salabat Khan of Elichpur and the Nizam had all benefited by an acquisition of territory.

10. In reply to these last remarks of His Highness I represented to him the favourable light in which my Government had always received his claims, at the same time instancing as a proof of this the voluntary relinquishment of an annual tribute of 4 lakhs of Rupees, which he was bound by treaty to pay to the Peshwa, and which became due to the British Government by virtue of its accession to the sovereignty by the Peshwa.

His Highness did not make any other reply to these observations than by saying he would talk further on the subject after consultation with his Ministers, and asked me if I would restore Ahmadabad to him. I told His Highness, when he was pleased to favour me with a definitive answer to the propositions submitted to him, I should communicate it to my Government, and that I would mention what he had said regarding Ahmadabad. I do not think this His Highness has thought seriously on the Kathiawar questions, and I am still in hopes of his acceding to the first plan. Should he not, I would offer him our share of Pettad, Viramgam and Parantij, in exchange for his tribute and possessions in Kathiawar, although the policy of ceding territory for a tribute in money appears to me questionable, yet considering that the territorial possessions of Gaikwad in that country may be estimated at 3,40,000 Rupees of the 8,000,000, at which he values Kathiawar, and the advantages which may be expected to result to our interest from the whole of the Chieftains coming under one supreme authority, freed from vexatious exactions, the consequent revival of trade and increased prosperity of the country, combined with the encouragement that we can give to the breeding of horses, for which some of the districts were so famous, and which has only within a few years fallen off, and all of which we have every right to hope for; looking to the present state of Malwa under the enlightened control of Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, a country which was in a far worse condition than Kathiawar, and where the task was more difficult, in as much as he had to carry through his system in opposition to the wishes and in some cases to the interests of the various Powers, to whom the portions of the country were subjected, he had to contend against all the evils which attend so sudden a change from a state of war to peace, he had to provide occupation for the numerous military thrown out of employment, to conciliate the Grassias, Bhils and Rajput Chieftains, and to induce them to cultivate lands, an occupation uncongenial to their habits, to restrain the Maratha authorities from taking advantage of our influence to enforce demands or to waive the performance of agreement. All this has been effected, and Malwa is rapidly increasing in population; many hundred villages are repeopled, and lands cultivated which have not felt the plough for thirty years. If with all these disadvantages he has done so much, what may be

expected from our Government when Kathiawar comes within the scope of its influences.

I calculated our share of Petlad at 5,10,000 Rupees; Viramgam at 1,25,000 Rupees; and Parantij, at, 1,00,000 Rupees, making a total of 7,35,000 Rupees; and deducting from the Gaikwad's valuations of his Kathiawar tribute the sum of 80,000 Rupees or ghasdana, which has been decided against him, reduces it to 7,20,000. Supposing he should not accede to this, I know of nothing that would tempt him save the restoration of Ahmadabad. As His Highness has not yet made up his mind, he may perhaps consider the first proposition of vesting Captain Ballantine with similar powers to those conferred on Captain Barnwall, withdrawing his army and sarsubah; in which case I request to be favoured with the orders of Government whether it would prefer this an exchange of territory.

Reply to the above letter from Francis Warden.

Orders I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 18th of this month, reporting the result of an interview with His Highness Sayajirao on the subject of effecting an exchange of territory for His Highness's share of tribute from the Chieftains of Kathiawar, and soliciting the further orders of Government for your guidance.

I am directed to inform you that, unless any of our territories in Gujarat be so inconveniently situated as to make it desirable to get rid of it in exchange for an equal revenue in money (as was the case with Vijapur) the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would prefer the Gaikwad withdrawing his army.

NO. 5. FINANCIAL PUZZLE

The Bombay authorities were not a little proud of their financial policy in Baroda. This is already clearly borne out by the documents published in the preceding volumes of this series. Here additional evidence is brought forward of the high opinion the Bombay Government formed of its financial achievement. Unfortunately for them, when their financial structure was completed, it toppled over; and it was suddenly brought to light that in 1820 the debts of the Baroda State stood at a higher figure than when the English first interfered to save the State from bankruptcy.

DOCUMENTS

1809 *Baroda*, 25th December, 1809 (1810, P. D. 350)

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden

Gaika. ad debt I beg respectfully to submit a statement of this [*the Gaikwad's*] debt up to the latest period. Few public demands probably have rested on more satisfactory and solid security than those of the

Hon'ble Company on the Gaikwad Government. Notwithstanding the original large amount of the principal, which at one time exceeded 48 lakhs of Rupees, and the heavy accumulation of interest, according to the account which I have now the honour to forward, the balance against the Gaikwad on the 30th of April next will be Rs. 9,54,731 only; and deducting the next year's annual assignment the balance on the 30th April, 1811, will but little exceed 3½ lakhs, which will be discharged in the course of that year.

Although in one point of view it may be pleased to contemplate the satisfactory manner in which this transaction will be closed, and which has in no instance, from its commencement, disappointed the expectations formed, yet I doubt whether a more rapid extinction of the demands on the Gaikwad, than what proceeds from the funds assigned for their liquidation, would be to the Company's interests. *Payment defereced.*

It is certain that a considerable portion of the influence, which we have acquired in the concerns of the Gaikwad, has proceeded from the pecuniary assistance which we have extended to the State; and our control during the recent reforms has derived much of its efficacy from the acknowledged and justifiable pretensions, which our character as creditors has afforded.

From the beneficial effects which have resulted to the Gaikwad Government from the late reforms and its rapid progress towards solvency, the period is fast approaching when this Government will be independent of our assistance; and it may be to the interest of the Company's Government accordingly not to desire that the debt should be too rapidly extinguished.

Baroda, 25th December, 1809 (1810, P. D. 351)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. I have already had the honour to report my arrival at Baroda on the 16th instant. I now beg leave respectfully to submit to your consideration a brief summary of those points of business, which have occupied the attention of the Baroda Residency during my absence, and which may serve as a continuation of the general subject of my letter dated the 10th January last. *Financial survey*

2. The first and principal object of the solicitude of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will probably be to learn how far the prospects, held over in my letter of the 10th January, have been realised. It will therefore be satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to be informed that, on attentive consideration of the transactions at Baroda since my departure in January last, I have found no reason to alter the sentiments therein submitted relative to the general aspect of the Gaikwad affairs.

3. It is proper however to advert to the encumbrances incurred by the Government in the loan of eleven lakhs of Rupees, borrowed to effect the discharge of Sitaram's sibandi, the circumstances of which loan and the necessity, under which it was contracted, were fully set forth in my letter of January 1809, reporting on Sitaram's affairs.

4. This loan was temporarily raised from shroffs on a promise of speedy payment, and it was discharged by transfers in certain proportions on the kamavisdars of the mahals, on which it still remains an encumbrance. By an old and established custom of the State, money raised in this manner costs the Government 10 per cent. in premium and interest; and it is therefore proposed during the current year to reduce this expense by a new loan of 11 lakhs at the regulated interest.

5. To discharge the past expenses of this loan in *bij-manuti*, amounting to Rs. 1,98,000, such part of the amount of *dayete* of the Diwan and Sikanavis as remains unappropriated for the year 1864-65 (1808-09), to the amount of about 1,80,000 Rupees, will be applied; and the deficiency [*will be*] made good from a corresponding appropriation of the *waddara* or increase of the year 1866 (1809-10).

Amount of premium and interest	..	Rs. 1,98,000	
Unappropriated amount:			
Dayete	..	Rs. 1,80,000	
Waddara	..	.. 18,000	
			Rs. 1,98,000

The interest and the premium of the new loan amounting to Rs. 1,54,000 will be discharged as noted in the margin.

[*In the margin*]

New loan premium	..	..	Rs. 1,54,000
Dayete	..	Rs. 1,20,000	
Deduct provision for Sitaram	..	50,000	
		Rs. 70,000	
Waddara..	..	.. 84,000	
			Rs. 1,54,000

6. In so extensive a concern some errors in management may be expected, and the immediate transition from anarchy and confusion to regularity and order was not to be looked for. No instance of deviation however has been permitted by Mr. Carnac to pass unnoticed or unaccompanied by suitable remonstrances.

7. The total amount of the excess is not considerable. In the *modikhana* establishment it amounts to about 40,000 Rupees, and in the *paga* establishment to Rs. 60,000—the whole excess not much exceeding a lakh of Rupees annually.

8. These instances of excess have also generally wrought their own remedy and tended, from the difficulty of finding sources for the discharge of any extra expenditure, to inculcate the indispensable necessity of economy.

9. While I notice the preceding instances of excess in expenditure, it is satisfactory to remark that the other departments of the State,

with the exception of the occasional contingencies incident to so large an expenditure, have not exceeded the establishments assigned.

10. Nor are these instances of excess a matter of much consequence, as they are so much overbalanced by additional sources of revenue. The increase in the jama of the mahals has been progressive, affording, as is also noticed, an increase for the two last years of Rupees 3,20,000, and which sum enables the Government to meet its contingencies.

11. In my letter of the 26th November, 1808 I had the honour to report the discovery of the peculations in the mahals, and the measures which were adopted in order to attempt the recovery of some part of these peculations for the service of the State.

12. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will probably recollect that varats were drawn generally on these speculators in favour of the creditors of the State, but the defaulters were principally the members of Racha's family. From Sitaram and his adherents there is not the remotest chance of obtaining any part of his mal-appropriations; from Babaji a recoverance of Rupees 1,68,000 has been effected and appropriated to the service of the State.

13. The necessity of conceding some pecuniary sacrifice for the sake of public tranquillity is already known to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and this necessity has weakened the hopes of obtaining funds from this source. These hopes however are not altogether destroyed, and opportunities will be taken to convert as much of these private emoluments as possible to the advantage of the State. Of this sum I conceive about 3 lakhs will be recovered.

14. While however I notice the eventual defalcation of receipts from this source, I am happy to be able to accompany it with the mention of an actual diminution of debt to a corresponding amount.

15. The death of Samal Bhakti is already known to Government, but I believe it has not yet been officially reported that his adopted son, Bacher Samal, and his successor to the potdari of the Gaikwad State, has presented that Government with a nazranah of 10 lakhs of Rupees to be deducted from the debts due to his firm.

16. These are all the remarks relative to the pecuniary concerns of the State, that appear to me to require notice. It may however be generally observed that the relief of encumbrances and the extinction of debts is rapidly proceeding. The anticipation of future solvency and comparative wealth, and that at no very distant period, has added much to the efficiency of Government, and the Administration already begin to feel the beneficial effects of good management and economy.

17. The revenue management of the mahals has also proceeded with as much regularity as could be expected. The arrangement for deputing karkuns on the part of Government into the several parganas has been completed.

18. The establishment of the huzur sibandi in the forts, as noticed in the postscript of my letter of the 10th January, has also been carried into execution.

19. The appointment of killadars however, distinct from the mamlatdari, has been temporarily delayed and is still to be effected; but the attention of the Administration has been forcibly called to this necessary act of reform.

20. One important improvement has been introduced into this Government by the appointment of a tribunal at Baroda for the administration of justice. This, it may be observed, is a commencement only; but it is one of some importance and will by gradual ameliorations, introduced as they are found to be beneficial, prove the foundation for a regular judicial system applicable to the state of society.

21. It will also be satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to learn that the system for the collection of the revenues of the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri, on the principles adopted in Kathiawar, is in progress.

22. The Chieftain of Palhanpur has already settled for the payment of a fixed annual revenue, and similar arrangements for the Chieftains of Idar, Modasa, Amnagar and Balisnor will be speedily adopted. The arrangement will also generally extended to all the Koli proprietors of villages who are of sufficient importance to require separate engagements.

23. From the preceding summary of our transactions with the Gaikwad State the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that many points requiring much delicacy and judgment have been satisfactorily adjusted by Mr. Carnac, the Acting Resident, upon whom the general favourable aspect of affairs reflects much credit, and under whose management the realisation of every prospect, held out in the commencement of the reforms, may be fairly anticipated. In fact the even tenor of their past progress is the surest guarantee of their ultimate success and at the same time the best evidence of the discretion and judgment that has guided their progress.

24. Nor can I omit this opportunity of renewing the expression of my sentiments on the continued zeal and fidelity of Gangadhar Shastri, of whose attention and ability the increasing resources of the Gaikwad Government are a sufficient proof.

1810 *Baroda*, 9th April, 1810 (1810, P. D. 355)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Gaikwad debt I avail myself of this opportunity respectfully to offer to consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a statement of the Gaikwad debt to the Hon'ble Company, showing the amount due at the termination of the present year of account and its progressive liquidation to the 30th April 1811.

The balance of Rs. 3,84,972-2-58, standing to the debit of the Gaikwad at the last mentioned date, will be discharged in regular course by the month of March, 1812, in full of the demands of the Hon'ble Company.

In submitting this statement I beg to express a respectful hope that the Hon'ble Board will view with satisfaction the rapid annihilation of the debt to the Hon'ble Company; and it is only necessary for me in conclusion respectfully to observe that the balance exhibiting the debit of the Gaikwad on the 30th April, 1811, cannot by any means be discharged by this Government within that year, should it be found inexpedient to await the operation of the payment from the territorial assignment allotted for the extinction of the demands of the Hon'ble Company.

Bombay orders.

Ordered that the Acting Resident at Baroda be advised that the statement he has afforded is satisfactory, and that, although we shall be satisfied with the regular realisation of the Gaikwad debt up to the period of its extinction in March 1812, yet, if the Administration of Baroda should find it perfectly convenient to pay it off sooner or within the year of account 1811/12, this anticipation will be acceptable, but it is not desired to the inconvenience of that State. *Satisfied*

Baroda, 14th April, 1810 (1813, P. D. 392)

1810

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

Since Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's reports of the 28th November, 1808 and 10th January, 1809, a considerable period has elapsed, and the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may therefore be probably desirous of seeing a summary of the affairs of the Gaikwad State, deduced from those periods. *Baroda finances*

2. In the report of the 26th November, 1808, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker submitted a general view of the pecuniary affairs of the Gaikwad State, whether connected with the bhandari of the Company or otherwise, and the prospectus, which he furnished on that occasion, was pointed out as the guide for the future conduct of the Resident.

3. I have the honour to enclose accordingly in continuation for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a statement of loans raised in 1864 (1807-8) and 1865 (1808-9) under the bhandari of the Company, and showing their progressive liquidation to the termination of the last Mrigsal 1865 (1808-9). *Loans*

22. Previous to concluding this report, I beg leave, Hon'ble Sir, to express a respectful hope that the expectations, which your Hon'ble Board have been led to entertain of the progressive liquidation of the Gaikwad encumbrances, will be found in a fair way of realisation, and that the period of the independence in a pecuniary point of view will soon arrive by continuing to persevere in a system of rigid economy in all the branches of its expenditure.

No. 1. Statement of loans received in the year 1864 and 1865 under the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company for the service of the Gaikwad Government, showing their progressive liquidation.

A. Loan of 1864 (1807/8).									
Principal and interest	..	..			Rs.	71,26,733	3	25	
B. Loan of 1865 (1808/9).									
Principal	..	..	..	..	..	21,84,739	0	69	
Interest	..	..	..	..	..	6,97,672	1	25	
Total					..	1,00,09,095	1	19	
C. Paid	..	..	..	..	..	93,55,280	1	75	
Balance on the end of 1865					Rs.	6,53,814	3	44	

No. 2. Statement of amount to be paid by the Gaikwad Government in 1866 (1809/10) showing the funds also whence it is to be paid.

A. To be paid:									
Pagadars' arrears 1864	..	...			Rupees	8,04,332	2	75	
Arrears of 1865	..	..	..		..	20,27,197	3	56	
Extra expenses of 1865		..			..	2,23,588	1	00	
On account of 1866	...	..			..	4,60,679	2	75	
Balance due to shroffs	...	...			..	4,27,562	0	91	
Total					Rs.	39,43,360	3	00	
B. Sources of payment.									
Loans	..	..	...	..	Rs.	36,55,000	0	00	
Balance due from the mahals for the year 1864 (1807/8) and 1865 (1808/9)					..	2,45,000	0	00	
Balance due from the mahals of the current year					..	43,360	0	00	
Total					Rs.	39,43,360	3	00	

No. 3. Comparative statement of the receipts and disbursements for the Gaikwad State for the year 1865 (1808/9) contrasted with 1864 (1807/08).

Debit.		Credit.	
1864 (1807/8)		1865 (1808/9)	
Rupees	65,60,991 1 0	Rupees	101,06,876 1 00

No. 4. General statement of balance due by the Gaikwad under the bhandari of the Company.

Amount of engagements	..	..	Rupees	1,00,09,095	1	19
Amount liquidated	..	..	..	93,55,280	1	75
Balance	..	..	..	6,53,814	3	44

Baroda, 23rd May, 1810 (1810, P. D. 358)

1810

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour respectfully to submit to your notice the enclosed *Gaikwad* annual statements of the Gaikwad debt due to the Hon'ble Company *debt* at the close of the official year, terminating on the 30th April last.

The regular liquidation of the claims of the Hon'ble Company on the Gaikwad, according to the assignments on the mahals and the amount of nazranah from Kathiawar carried to the credit of this Government in obedience to the orders of your Hon'ble Board, will be found to have reduced the debt to a considerable amount.

Abstract statement showing the state of the Gaikwad debt on the 30th April, 1809, and on the 30th April, 1810.

Account of the Gaikwad Government:

Abstract, on the 30th April, 1809	..	Rs. 15,62,204	1	07
add deficiency of interest	..	.. 1,28,608	2	23
		Rs. 16,90,812	3	30

Deduct: Realization from the

Gaikwad in 1809/10 .. Rs. 6,47,500

„ „ nazranah .. „ 89,000

7,36,500 0 00

[On April 30, 1810]

Rupees 9,54,312 3 30

Baroda, 18th May, 1811 (1811, P. D. 374)

1811

James R. Carnac to the Board

The official year having expired, it is with sincere satisfaction *Financial* that I proceed to discharge that part of my public duty, prescribed by *report* the orders of your Hon'ble Board, of reporting on the state of the Gaikwad debt to the Company on account of loans and other services.

The punctuality, with which these loans have been liquidated according to the assignments fixed at the period of the reforms in this State, will be found by the report, I now have the honour respectfully to submit to your consideration, to have been by no means disturbed.

The statement in the margin will apprise you, Hon'ble Sir, of the amount of debt in the official year 1808-9 and the liquidation which was effected in the following twelve months. The same satisfactory result will be found in the accompanying detailed statement of the account between Anandrao Gaikwad and the Hon'ble Company, leaving a balance of only Rupees 3,77,802-0-8 of the enormous sum which your Hon'ble Board has granted since our first connection with the Gaikwad State.

In my address to your Chief Secretary of the 9th April, 1810, I intimated the readiness of the Administration here to discharge the balance of the Company's debt before the termination of the year 1811-12, at which period in regular course it falls due, provided your Hon'ble Board might require it.

In repeating this intimation I may be permitted to remark on the evidence which it affords of the prosperous condition of the Gaikwad affairs in general, while the exactness with which the demands of the Company's Government have been discharged, according to the arrangement made by my predecessor for their progressive liquidation, cannot fail to excite in your mind, Hon'ble Sir, many pleasing reflections, not only arising from the satisfaction of seeing these encumbrances removed, but that your liberal support afforded at a time of extreme difficulty has redeemed the Government of our ally from impending insolvency, restored it to a condition which must in a comparative short operation of time place it on the respectability and efficiency of the most flourishing Native States in India, and secured to the British Government a connection, strengthened by all the ties which gratitude can add to the obligations of public faith.

1812 *Baroda, 1st March, 1812 (1812, P. D. 384)*

Ballantine to Francis Warden.

Debts paid I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the receipt during the month of February of Rupees 69,811-1-69 from Anandrao Gaikwad, being in full payment of his balance on account of loans and otherwise, with interest, due from him to the Hon'ble Company.

I beg you will do me the favour to respectfully state for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the necessary documents have been forwarded to Captain Carnac to enable him to report in detail for the satisfaction of the Hon'ble Board in the punctual termination of the Gaikwad debt to the Hon'ble Company.

1812 *Baroda, 22nd March, 1812 (1812, P. D. 384)*

James R. Carnac to The Hon'ble George Brown, Governor-in-Council.

Debts paid It is with considerable satisfaction that I have the honour to announce to Your Hon'ble Board the liquidation of the whole of the pecuniary demands of the Hon'ble Company on the State of His Highness the Gaikwad.

The accompanying figured statement will exhibit a flattering result in a prominent branch of the reforms at Baroda; it will carry with it the satisfactory reflection that the disinterested object, which animated the British Government in its assistance and support to the Gaikwad, when labouring under serious difficulties and pecuniary embarrassments, is now rapidly producing those permanent advantages which must powerfully constitute a feeling of gratitude in our ally and redound to the honour and fame of the British character.

In offering to you, Hon'ble Sir, my respectful congratulations on the event reported in this address, permit me also to express a confident hope that, in the execution of the remaining reforms, the same adherence will be found to the system of economy and regulations, prescribed in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's dispatch of the 26th November, 1808, with due allowance for those of the unavoidable expenses which were not contemplated in that period. In the admission however

of these incidental charges, the nullity of some demands, stated in the letter of the 26th November, which a recent investigation has effected, must more than balance the extraordinary charges in question.

Board's comments.

The Governor-in-Council, participating to the fullest extent in the satisfaction expressed by the Resident at Baroda at the extinction of the debt due by the Gaikwad Government to the Hon'ble Company, we proceed to deliberate upon the highly important question of gradually detaching ourselves from that intimate and internal interference in the details of the Gaikwad's affairs, which necessity has hitherto rendered expedient. *British withdrawal*

As indispensable to the formation of a correct judgment on this question, and previously to a reference of it for the decision of the Supreme Government, it is necessary that we should be furnished with a full and accurate view of the existing resources of the Gaikwad State, with a statement of its receipts and disbursements for the past and of an estimate hereof for the current year, with such observations as the Resident may have to offer on the general subject, and particularly as to how far experience has hitherto proved the accuracy or otherwise of the general estimate, that accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's report of the 26th of November, 1808, of receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad Government until the year 1813/14; at the expiration of which period it was calculated that all the objects of the Gaikwad reforms would be fully realised, that a surplus would remain in the Baroda treasury, all debts raised in loan closed, and the expenses of the State brought within its income. Captain Carnac will also forward a distinct statement of the existing amount of the debts contracted and still due by the Gaikwad Government under the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company; and in offering his remarks upon the present state and efficiency of each of the branches of the Administration as a sequel to his predecessor's report of the 10th January, 1809, the attention that has been bestowed to the amelioration of the system in the administration of justice, as suggested in the 81st paragraph of that report, is to be adverted to.

Captain Carnac is to be also instructed to take into his consideration the practicability of negotiating a commercial treaty with the Gaikwad State. The resources of Gujarat are fertile and can alone be rendered promotive of the general interest of commerce by an equalisation and consolidation of those numerous and vexatious inland duties, which are levied on the transit of the goods through the interior of the country; which can never prosper, nor the industry of its inhabitants be encouraged, until those duties are reduced to just and equitable standard. The immediate mode, in which the interest of the Company can be best promoted, is by an introduction of the Company's imports into Baroda, the consumption of which might probably be extended by the Resident's exertions at that capital; supplies of woollens, and metals, and other articles, the produce or manufacture of the mother country, might be made at moderate advances on the prime or the invoice cost, on condition that a corresponding consideration be shown in the duties at present leviable *Commercial treaty*

in the transit of goods manufactured within the province of Gujarat. Upon the commercial indulgences however, that may be reciprocally conceded by the two States, Captain Carnac's local experience can best suggest. His maturest attention is therefore to be bestowed to the points thus submitted to his consideration, and his earliest reply to these instructions will be expected by Government.

1812 *Baroda*. 11th October, 1812 (1813, P. D. 392)

James R. Carnac to Sir Evan Nepean.

Report In obedience to the commands, communicated through your Chief Secretary under the date the 2nd May last, I have the honour to submit for your consideration the required information on the affairs of the Gaikwad Government.

2. It is with satisfaction, commensurate with the importance of the subject, that I am enabled to commence this report with a respectful observation that the mediation of the Company's Government has hitherto been productive of every pecuniary benefit, anticipated on the introduction of the reforms in the Government, and that the progressive amelioration of its finances is also rapidly producing the subsidiary advantages in the general efficiency of the administration, which the adoption of a regular system in the branch of public expenditure has gradually communicated.

3. The last report, which I had the honour to submit to your Hon'ble Board, dated the 10th of April, 1810, gave a pleasing picture of the result of the first endeavours in execution of the arrangements of economy, prescribed in Colonel Walker's dispatch of the 26th November, 1808.

4. In offering the figured statements elucidating the particulars of public expense since the period of my address of the 14th April, I have conceived that it would be acceptable to you in the first instance to receive in one general statement a comprehensive view of the whole debt exhibited in the separate enclosures to the report of the 26th November, 1808, with the progressive liquidation of encumbrances from that to the conclusion of the year 1868 (1811/12), adding the years on an estimated expenditure, until the debts are entirely discharged.

5. By the adoption of this plan it will at one view be seen in what respect an attention to economy has been preserved, each column will clearly show the annual annihilation of debt, and how far a concurrence with the estimates of my predecessor has in the result been established.

6. I have accordingly the honour to submit this general statement and to accompany it with such remarks as may be necessary for the satisfaction of your Hon'ble Board.

7. The dispatches of my predecessor and the one from myself, already adverted to, explain the principles on which the annual loans to this Government are constructed. For the sake of perspicuity it

may be proper to repeat that the system operates by appropriating the revenues of one year to discharge the loans of the preceding year, while a new loan is raised to discharge the establishment of that year which has partially fallen into arrears.

8. In the estimates accompanying the Resident's dispatch of the 26th November, 1808, the annual loans were calculated. A difference on examination will however be discovered in the amounts raised in the years noted in the statement and those expected to be necessary by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. This difference arises from the Government having undertaken to discharge more or less, as it suited their convenience and interests, but the general consequence will be found entirely to coincide with the calculation of my predecessor.

9. At the same time I am happy to observe that the expectations, held out in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's dispatch above quoted that the object of the Gaikwad reforms would be fully realised in the year 1870 (1813-14), have hitherto proved correct under the circumstances of the period when that expectation was formed.

10. The accompaniment to this address nevertheless does not show the extinction of the Gaikwad encumbrances, with and without the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company, until 1872 (1815-16). To reconcile this apparent variation it is necessary in the first place to remark that No. 8 to the report of the 26th of November exhibited debts which were expected to come in a course of payment in the year 1871 (1814-15). These debts are enclosed in the statement now furnished; and in the 31st paragraph of the dispatch dated 26th November, the period of liquidation is pointedly specified, though it is proper to notice that the hope, expressed in the concluding remark to enclosure No. 8 of the 26th November, 1808, of certain recoverances from the malappropriations of the mahals has not been realised. The sentiments of the Resident on this subject are stated in his letter in December 1809, and adverted to in the 21st paragraph of my communication of the 14th April, 1810.

11. To account for an additional year before this Government will be entirely relieved, I beg respectfully to refer to the dispatch of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, dated 10th January, 1809.

12. The causes are set forth in that dispatch, which rendered it necessary to raise a loan of Rupees 11,11,000 to pay off the demands of sibandi of Sitaram Raoji, employed on the mahals and forts then in the charge of this person. This sum was raised subsequent to the estimates referred to under the bhandari of the Company, and being an event at that time unexpected it could only be provided for in the general liquidation of debt by extending the period to the year 1872 (1815-16), after which a surplus revenue may be reasonably expected.

13. The excess of charges also in the establishment of Fatesing Gaikwad, as reported in the Resident's letter dated 25th December, 1809, and alluded to in my address of the 14th April following, is also to be added to the above sum of increased encumbrances. The period therefore when a surplus revenue is obtained after the discharge of debt and military establishment must necessarily, in

consequence of these two items of extra charges, be prolonged to 1873 (1816/17).

14. This brief explanation will, I trust, satisfy the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that no causes, not already submitted to the knowledge of Government, have militated against the entire success in our objects hitherto, but that the protraction of time in effecting them has originated exclusively in events connected with the reforms in the Gaikwad State and not specified in the prospectus afforded in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's report of the 26th November, 1808, from their having occurred subsequently to the date of that report.

15. I have also to explain that the column which shows a sum of Rs. 11,57,012-0-0 to be written off is merely entered for the sake of pointing out that the expectations, formed in the report of the 26th November, have now been realised by an examination into the accounts of Sitaram. These deductions were anticipated by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, but from the delay of investigation into the accounts, it could not be effaced from the general bulk of debt recorded in the 1st column of the statement now forwarded.

16. The actual balance of debt against the Gaikwad, it will be seen, stands up to the end of the year 1863 (1811-12) at Rupees 28,81,931-3-45. The years which follow are of course calculated on estimate, and display a progressive liquidation until the year 1872 (1815-16), which will doubtless operate with regularity, if no unforeseen events, beyond the power of human means to control, interrupt the arrangement.

17. In pursuance of the orders already referred to, I have the honour to submit to your consideration comparative statements of the receipts and disbursement of this Government from the period of the report of the 14th April, 1810, followed by particular statements of the loans received in the intermediate periods, showing their progressive liquidation in each year, also by a detailed estimate to the year in which it is expected that the Gaikwad State will be emancipated from all its encumbrances: a particular statement of the debt still standing under the Company's bhandari is also submitted.

18. On the first mentioned documents it will be requisite only to offer a few observations (in addition to those annexed to the letters of reference) in elucidation of certain disbursements arising out of events which it was not possible to regulate at an earlier stage of the reforms. The inference, which may fairly be deduced from a scrutiny into each head of charge, will, I hope, be found to establish that an attention in husbanding the resources of the State has been observed.

19. Of the description of contingent charges are the expenses of Fatesing's marriage, the mission to Poona, the expenses of the Kathiawar service, the Residency buildings, and others. of less importance; but in these expenses great attention has been bestowed, that an increase of means was available to meet them without imposing the necessity of infringing on the system of reformed

State it is become subordinated and attached to its Government from the attention now given to the regular payment of its just demands.

25. The co-operation of these troops with our own was never attended on former occasions with the utility of the services rendered by them in the late service against Navanagar. The order of their progress through the country and the perfect cordiality which subsisted, not only constitutes some grounds to decide the improvement of this essential department of the Government, but affords a satisfactory evidence of the feelings of the most considerable and respectable body affecting the measures and character of the British Government.

26. The same gradual amelioration appears to have advanced in the other branches of the Gaikwad State. The increase of revenue is an example of the flourishing condition of the country and of the efficacy of its administration, while the universal tranquillity of the province of Gujarat within late years forcibly demonstrates that the happiness of the subject has not been separated from the interest of the Government.

37. The few changes which have taken place in the Administration since the period of my predecessor, having taken a view of its efficiency, will render it superfluous to offer a detail that in most instances will only be found to repeat information already before your Hon'ble Board.

38. It will require me to confine my observations to the persons of His Highness Fatesing, his Khanji Diwan Vithoba Bhau, the sarsubah of Kathiawar Vithoba Diwanji, and to Gangadhar Shastri, who, though a servant of the Company, will be found to take a prominent part in the administration of the Gaikwad affairs. The several public servants mentioned in Colonel Walker's dispatch of the 10th January, 1810, occupy their former situation; and their conduct requires additional claims on the approbation and support of their allied Governments.

39. A lapse of four years enables one to speak of the disposition and qualifications of His Highness Fatesing with greater confidence than it was possible at a former period. His Highness's age and the inducement, to which he was subject by his accession to power, operated to a little disadvantage at the commencement of his public career. With an ingenuous mind and inexperienced in life, the insidious representations of some of his interested relations induced His Highness for a short time to depart from that course of prudent forbearance with which his mother had studiously endeavoured to impress him. The influence of these relatives gave a bias to extravagance; and the reformation, which was afterwards produced, is chiefly to be attributed to the natural good sense of His Highness and to the wholesome advice both of his mother and Gangadhar Shastri.

40. This short interruption of our system was not however devoid of some benefit. It showed to His Highness the danger of allowing himself to be controlled in his actions by men, of whose principles and objects he could form no competent judgment. It brought

home to his conviction the base motives of his relations (whom he immediately dispossessed of their power) and generated a desire of being more fully acquainted with the affairs and conditions of his Government.

41. Since this period the conduct of His Highness has been conformable with perfect rectitude, his attention to public business more regular and systematic; and under the guidance of his own judgment he displays a moderation in his character and a laudable disposition to receive and require advice for the control of his actions in cases of importance. His respectful attention also to the Raja is worthy of being cited as an honourable feature in his character.

42. The inquiry of His Highness into the circumstances of his government and of the principles of the reforms introduced by the agency of the Company has doubtless fixed impressions favourable to the British character. The cordiality of his co-operation and the warmth of his private friendship are evidences highly satisfactory of his disposition, and a perseverance in the principles now governing the policy at Baroda must impart additional force to the statements of Fatesing, as he assumes a fixed and determined judgment.

43. It is not however to be deduced from the foregoing description of Fatesing, that he has yet reached the period of life to guide his actions exclusively at his own discretion. The drawing of his character has perhaps only been developed, and it will be proper yet to observe him with vigilant attention, that the hopes now shown may not be exposed to the effect of these dangers which surround his exalted situation.

44. The capacity of Vithoba Bhau is described in the report of the 10th January. In addition I have only to observe that this young man is well disposed to perform the ordinary duties of his office with attention, but that he falls short of his father, Babaji, in talents and intelligence; nor can he possess the influence and authority to give full effect to the functions of his station until established some time longer in public life. At the same time I should remark that the advice, given by Babaji on his dying bed to Vithoba Bhau, detailed by my letter of the 26th November, 1810, has been attended to in as far as regards his intercourse with the Company's Government, though the Khanji Diwan is defective in energy to assume a leading part in the management of the affairs of his Government. *Vithoba Bhau*

45. In Vithoba Diwanji, employed in Kathiawar, the Government possess an able, zealous and valuable public servant. The encomiums of Lieutenant-Colonel Walkar would almost supersede the necessity of my bringing this person again to the notice of your Hon'ble Board; but the personal knowledge which I acquired of his merits when in Kathiawar, the hearty and useful assistance which his local information and willing disposition afforded me, demand in justice that I should discharge my humble tribute of acknowledgments and to repeat that he eminently deserves this support of the Company's Government and the approbation of his own immediate superior. *Vithoba Diwanji*

Shastri 46. I have now, Hon'ble Sir, to trespass further on your attention by advertng to the merits of Gangadhar Shastri. The testimonies, which have been recorded of his talents, integrity and application, as well as the repeated occasions of his receiving the approbation of the Supreme and Bombay Governments, would seem to make it quite unnecessary to bring his services to notice in this place, if his present pretensions did not call upon me to perform this act of duty to a faithful servant. To his information and exertions Lieutenant-Colonel Walker has attributed the first success of the reforms; his merits have not been confined to these examples, but have now expanded to his having acquired in a very extraordinary degree the attachment and confidence of Fatesing and members of the Gaikwad family.

47. Posterior of the death of Babaji, the weight of public affairs in their directions has chiefly fallen on the Shastri, no less from his being superior in a knowledge of them than from the choice of Fatesing, who spontaneously seeks his aid on every occasion.

48. I cannot prefer a stronger testimony of the high regard of Fatesing than by submitting to you, Hon'ble Sir, the accompanying translate of a letter from His Highness written when in Kathiawar, soliciting the services of the Shastri. This request has been repeated frequently both in writing and in conversation, and Fatesing has remained satisfied with my assurance that it should be made known to the Company's Government.

49. Nothing perhaps could be considered more desirable, when it is in contemplation to retire from an active interference in the Gaikwad affairs, than that a man like the Shastri, who from principles and past favour must be devoted to the Company's Government, should [have] so large a share of the attachment of the head of this Government. Although in policy it might not be advisable immediately to resign a supervision of the administration in this State, when circumstances may justify the measure, no assistance in the government can be more efficacious than that of the Shastri, on whose integrity we must have every reason to rely, and from his favourable situation with Fatesing as his private servant the most solid advantages would be derived. His intimate knowledge of our character and his correct notions of our policy in Gujarat would be the means of his fostering in the mind of His Highness those sentiments, which he has already begun to imbibe in the more imposing situation of a servant of the Government; at the same time it is worthy of remark that the Shastri has the confidence of the whole of the late Babaji's family. That Minister in his will, which was alluded in my report of the 26th November, 1810, committed unreservedly to the Shastri's control the whole concerns of his house and the welfare of his son. This extraordinary circumstance from a man of the ability and penetration of Babaji shows unlimited confidence; it has acquired for the Shastri the esteem and respect of the many respectable men in this Government, who were the adherents of Babaji, as well as being the means of his possessing the attachment of the family itself.

50. Many other advantages might be cited, but they will appear obvious on a consideration of the Shastri's character and the situation of Fatesing; and I cannot conclude this report, without a respectful observation that a compliance with the wishes of His Highness appears to my humble apprehension to comprehend many benefits to this Government and to the intimate connection we have formed, under the poverty of intellect which pervades the present Administration.

51. The instructions, conveyed in the last paragraphs of the Chief Secretary's letter of the 2nd May last, to negotiate a commercial treaty with this Government, have received my particular attention; at a future opportunity I shall have the honour of reporting the result of my endeavours.

N. B.—The financial statement accompanying this report runs to about 40 foolscap pages in the Diary; see 1832, P. D. 392, pp. 249-286.

Bombay, 14th April, 1813 (1813, P. D, 396)

1813

At a Consultation.

Resumed consideration of the two reports from the Resident at *Reforms* Baroda under dates the 14th April 1810 and 11th October last regarding the Gaikwad reforms.

Resolutions.

The Right Hon'able the Governor-in-Council having fully considered the reports from the Resident at Baroda on the affairs of that State, as exhibited in the documents recorded in our proceedings dated the 27th of January last, the general results of the details comprehended in the statements appear to be as follows:

The total demands of the shroffs, as they were adjusted by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, amounted in October, 1805, with interest, to Rupees 60,02,861-3-81.

Lieutenant-Colonel-Walker having obtained the consent of the shroffs to a general abatement in their claims of $\frac{1}{5}$ of the interest, or Rupees 3,28,999-1 56, under an engagement of providing for a gradual liquidation of the principal, the operation of this arrangement led to the reduction of the balance of bhandari loans on the 26th of November 1808 to ... Rupees 12,55,893 2 50

The amount of Hon'ble the Company's debt was	...	...	...	„	22,84,511	1	31
The other claims against the State aggregated	...	...	...	„	1,20,57,934	0	32
Making a total of debt on the 26th of November 1808 of	...	...	...	„	1,55,98,339	0	13
The loans raised from that date to the 1811/12 including interest, amounted to	...	...	...	„	2,05,32,960	2	12
Total	...	...	...	„	3,61,31,299	2	25

The amount liquidated within the same period, and which includes the extinction of the Hon'ble Company's debt aggregated	---	---	---	3,32,49,317	2	80
Leaving a balance of encumbrances at the close of 1811/12 of	..	...	Rs.	28,81,981	3	45

Which affords a very satisfactory proof of the faithful application of the surplus receipts of the State to the liquidation of its encumbrances on the principle established by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. Nor is the Governor-in-Council at all disappointed that the ultimate extinction of the debt is likely to be protracted beyond the period contemplated by that officer; for it cannot be expected that an estimate, embracing the prospective receipts and expenditure of so long a period as Colonel Walker's review embraced, should not be affected by those variations against which no foresight could provide. The progressive discharge of these encumbrances with a prospect of extinguishing the debt even in the year 1816/17 afforded a sufficiently satisfactory proof of the knowledge which Lieutenant-Colonel Walker possessed of the resources of the Gaikwad State, and of the just dependence which he reposed on the arrangements which he so ably projected for extricating it from its pecuniary embarrassments.

There is one point however which the Government cannot reconcile in these statements, viz. The actual balance of debt against the Gaikwad to the end of the year 1811/12 is stated at Rupees 28,81,981-3-45, which is understood to include the amount raised under the Hon'ble Company's bhandari, but the balance due by the Gaikwad under the bhandari of the Company aggregates Rupees 36,34,429-0-56. The Resident's explanation should therefore be required on these apparently discordant balances of debt.

In reviewing the receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad State as exhibited in the documents under consideration, the Governor-in-Council has the satisfaction to observe, in respect to the jama, that each of the three last years of the review has maintained the increase upon the first or that of 1808/9; whilst the net amelioration in the jama in the years 1810/11 and 1811/12 amounted to Rupees 1,39,085-2-00. But, as from Colonel Walker's report dated the 25th December, 1809, the jama 1809/10 is stated at Rupees 57,10,557, it is necessary that Captain Carnac should explain the grounds on which it appears in his present report at a reduced amount.

The whole of the gross current receipts of the State, including the jama, for the years 1810-11 and 1811-12 aggregate the sum of Rupees 2,12,33,875-2-80, and the net amelioration amounts to Rupees 4,51,572-1-18. The gross current disbursements fall short of the gross current receipt in the sum of Rupees 60,69,467-3-76. The increase in the disbursements however exceeds the savings of deficiencies in the expenditure of the three years in the sum of Rupees 1,47,332-0-06. The explanation afforded of the causes of such excess appears to be entirely satisfactory; at the same time it is hoped that, as the estimate for building the Residency has already reached the amount sanctioned by Government, no further expenditure will be necessary on that account.

Baroda, 28th August, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Preparatory to a continuation of my report on the Gaikwad affairs, dated the 11th October last, I have to solicit the orders of Government for my guidance on some propositions which have been made from the Administration, arising out of the great difficulties attendant on the late season of scarcity. It has not appeared to me that any decided objections can be preferred to the proposed intentions of the Gaikwad Government; but, as it will involve financial considerations of importance, and that the operation of these intentions will affect the progress of the expected amelioration in its affairs, I have deemed it my duty to obtain the sentiments of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council before an answer is returned. *Relief to troops*

2. It has been represented that the severe scarcity of the last season has almost destroyed the efficiency of the Gaikwad troops, particularly in the cavalry branch of the service, and that the silahdar sardars, of whom the most respectable part of the force is composed, have not only been involved in large debts from the high price of grain, sometimes at 3 pukka seers the Rupee, but from the mortality among horses by the want of grass, and diseases consequent to the change of food. It should here be remarked that the silahdars' horses are their own property and maintained at their exclusive expenses.

3. It being an object of great consequence that the force of this State should be fit for service at the opening of the present season, and considering the circumstances which have reduced them to their present state, this Government deem it an act of justice to their sardars as well as a measure of expediency to render them a pecuniary compensation respectively commensurate with their losses and its own ability to afford this assistance.

4. By following this system and by the defalcation of revenue in the present year I have to remark that the period will of course be protracted when it was calculated that the Gaikwad would be relieved from its encumbrances; but, as the serious evils, which have been experienced, could not be foreseen by any human calculation, it cannot detract from the conduct of this Government, which continues to show attention to my suggestions for the regulation of its economy.

5. The occurrence of a scarcity or any public calamity was not provided for in the prospectus of the reformed scale of expenditure furnished in the letter of the 26th November, 1803. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, indeed, remarked that it was framed supposing an uninterrupted course of prosperity.

Minutes, 11th September.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council is sensible that nothing can be more essential to the interests of the Gaikwad State, especially in the present moment, than that its military establishment should be in the most perfect and complete *Approval*

state of efficiency; and aware of the distresses which have arisen out of the late scarcity, this Government by no means disapproves of an arrangement being made for affording any consistent relief to the silahdar sardars in the service of the Gaikwad, relying with confidence on his taking care that no further aid may be granted than may be absolutely necessary to meet the present exigencies.

1813 *Camp at Palanpur, 31st December, 1813 (1813. P. D. 406)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Financial report 1. As it will be acceptable to you to receive a report of the progress, which we may have made in the salutary measure of liquidating the once enormous encumbrances of this State, I take an opportunity respectfully to offer this information for the year 1812/13.

2. It is satisfactory for me to observe that the spirit of economy, which has animated the Gaikwad Administration, has been exemplified with peculiar effect since the period of my report above adverted to [11th October, 1813]. I have witnessed with pleasure that the serious difficulties we have had to combat and the melancholy prospect before us, added to the increased privations, incident to the circumstances which have existed, produced no relaxation in that desire of prudence and economy so essential to the vital interests of the Gaikwad Government. Instead of apathy, under the difficulties we have encountered in Gujarat, it is well known that the Administration gathered fresh courage from the obstacles around them and displayed a persevering industry in administering to the relief of others, while they fostered their own immediate interests.

Famine 3. I allude to the calamities with which this country has been affected during the past year, to the ravages introduced from the miseries of famine in some parts of Gujarat as well as in the adjoining provinces of Marwar and Mewar as a consummation of human misery and misfortunes, to the unprecedented sickness and mortality that followed the first dispensation of Providence.

1. In these difficulties permit me to testify that the Gaikwad has extended the hand of charity; perhaps it has contributed to the existence of thousands, who resorted to Baroda in a condition too deplorable for any adequate description. It is not necessary to repeat in detail the instances of beneficence which have come before me; but the knowledge that such feelings find full latitude in this Government exposes an amiable feature of its characteristic superiority, which may fairly be estimated among the most important benefits derived by the British Government in its intimate alliance and protection of a power constituted on principles so purely excellent. I cannot however resist the gratification of reporting that among many proofs of their charity the Administration at Baroda contrived means for 8 months to sell to the public grain at 20 seers, when the market in the country were able to dispose of this article at little more than half that quantity; that public and private subscriptions have been extensively made for contributing to the relief of the famished people, who repaired in multitudes to this capital; that an

asylum was established to receive the sick who sought for assistance; and that idleness should not engender vices and disease among those men in moderate health, excellent roads have been constructed in the town at Baroda, contributing as much to its advantage in point of salubrity, as it has added to the respectability of the Gaikwad capital.

5 I proceed to furnish you with the accounts of the Gaikwad *Finances* Government for the year 1812-13.

6. By referring to these accounts and to the letters of reference annexed to each of them, it will be seen how far attention has been paid to economy, and in what respects the Gaikwad has suffered from the late famine. Several of the mahals have yielded a revenue which has made up for the deficiency of others, and the result will show that the revenues of 1812-13 has exceeded that of 1811-12.

7. The debt, which was proposed to be discharged by my statement of the 11th October 1812, has been fully liquidated. This measure was advisable to show the punctuality of this Government to abide by the arrangement concluded with the shroffs under our bhandari. It gave confidence to that degree that the wants of the Gaikwad from the distresses, incident to the season, have been provided by the moneylenders without requiring the security of the Company as on former occasions, and this affords a convincing proof that the credit of this Government, from the integrity of their dealings, is in a most flourishing condition.

8. The loss of the Gaikwad is derived from sources which it was not in the power of human means to prevent. The statement in the margin will show the amount to be Rs. 13,35,818,-0-81; the whole proceeding from the increased dearness of grain, the loss of their household horses, the almost, total ruin of their silahdar establishment, and the injuries sustained in their forts and public buildings by the excessive rains and inundations.

Excess of expenditure [in the margin].

Modikhana or establishment for providing grain for the Gaikwad family dependants and household horses:	Rs. 2,24,795 0 19
Payment to silahdars for loss of horses during the famine, as authorised by the letter of Government, dated 11th September, 1813:	„ 4,00,000
Injuries to forts and public buildings from the late ruins and inundation	„ 2,00,000
New sibandi for the Pindaris ...	„ 1,81,427 3 37
Bapu Mairal's mission to Poona ...	„ 1,29,002 0 75
Topkhana purchase of ammunition ...	„ 20,000
Farashkhana or camp equipage ...	„ 20,000
Total	Rs. 13,75,225 0 31

Deduct amount of the deficiency in the charge of Malharrao and Nagpanchang						39,406	3	50
Total						Rs. 13,35,818	0	81

9. Considering however all the circumstances of the past season and the additional unavoidable charges from the apprehended irruption of the Pindaris in the territories of the Gaikwad, both north and south of the Nerbada, with the expenses of the vakil at Poona, it cannot be deemed extraordinary that the loss sustained amounts only to the sum specified. It will however protract a few months the periods for the emancipation of this Government from its debts, but it is worthy of remark that from the cause already noticed the bhandari obligations of the Company are happily not extended. In addition to these circumstances it will also appear that it has been impossible to collect the whole usual revenue from Kathiawar and other places.

10. Having now, Right Hon'ble Sir, submitted every explanation which has occurred to me as necessary for your satisfaction, it only remains for me to express a confident hope that, from the prospects afforded by the present harvest, the proceeds of Government will in my next report exhibit a result conducive to the interests of the Gaikwad, particularly when I have the pleasure to reflect that His Highness Fatesing, conscious of the disinterested support and assistance of the British Government, will not fail to pursue the established system of rigid economy.

Account

Total account to be paid by the Gaikwad
Government in 1870 (1813-14) ... Rs. 34,26,305 1 56

1814 Fort William, 4th March, 1814 (1814, P. D. 409)

J. Adam, Secretary to the Supreme Government, to Francis Warden.

*Calcutta
approval* I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 31st January [December] last enclosing a copy of a report from the Resident at Baroda on the affairs of the Gaikwad Government for the years 1812-3.

His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council has observed with the highest degree of satisfaction the continued success of the plan of reform projected by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker as manifested in the progressive improvement of the resources of the Gaikwad State; and His Lordship-in-Council considers the result of another year's experience of the operation of that plan, exhibited in this report, to be a strong confirmation of the opinion stated in my letter of the 17th September last in favour of a continuation of the system of British superintendence over the administration of the affairs of that Government, and to reflect the highest credit on the talents, industry and zeal displayed by Captain Carnac in the discharge of the important duties of supervision and control.

Baroda, 16th December, 1816 (1816, P. D. 432)

1816

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In the arrangements now nearly completed for a settlement of the accounts of the Gaikwad Government to the shroffs, constituted under the bhandari of the Company, it has been in my power to effect a very important reduction of 30 lakhs of Rupees by the remission of interest merely in the gross amount of debt, exclusive of other advantages averaging at about 10 lakhs more; the details of which transactions with a report on the financial condition of this State will soon be submitted for the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Financial-
position*

As increased economy is indispensable on account of the heavy loss sustained by the Peshwa's resumption of Ahmadabad and its possessions, and from other causes unavoidable in their nature, it has been my endeavour to establish a diminished rate of interest for future advance from the potdari establishment.

This highly desirable measure of reform for the Gaikwad and the Hon'ble Company as its bhandari, appears practicable as Dhakji Dadaji has come forwards to offer terms for such advances through his own means or those of others, making a difference in the rate of interest of 3 per cent. to that now paid by this Government, which difference would ensure an annual saving of one lakh of Rupees.

The dispatch from my predecessor, dated the 10th of March 1807, of which a copy is annexed with its enclosures, vested the potdari in the hands of the house of Hari Bhakti, to whom the interest of 12 per cent. is now given for advances. The bhandari engagement for the potdar by no means deprives the party, giving it, of the right of making better terms if practicable. As that point is feasible by the exertions of Dhakji Dadaji, and as the reforms will effect a considerable annual saving for the Gaikwad, and in consequence diminish the pecuniary responsibility of the Company, I submit that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council should empower me to avail myself of the opportunity and thereby fix a standard for future money transactions so very conducive to the permanent good of the country as well as the immediate interests of the Gaikwad Government.

The dispatch.

I have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, copies and translates of three deeds of this Government, forming part of the arrangements in progress for the ultimate administration of affairs, to which the annexation of the Hon'ble Company's bhandari or guarantee under the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is respectfully solicited. *Financial-
measures.*

The protection and guarantee of the Hon'ble Company is in the first place required to the sanad appointing Samal Bhakti to the office of potdar or treasurer.

In consideration of the support of the Company now required, this shroff contributed 25 lakhs to the present assistance of the Gaikwad State, and he will over and above this sum allow the Government to overdraw their credit to the amount of 5 lakhs of Rupees. It is also to be observed that he has consented to relinquish to Government one half of the established perquisites of his office, accruing from the deduction of 2 per cent. under the denomination of potdari, from the payments to the troops.

This extensive assistance was not to be expected, unless under the guarantee of the Hon'ble Company, for an equitable settlement of his accounts for the past and for the future for all moneys which he may with the concurrence of the British Government advance to the Gaikwad Government.

The bhandari of the Company is also required to the mamlatdari of Baroda for the current year to Samal Bhakti.

The rusud of this mahal being appropriated to the payment of the loans, and yielding nearly 1/5th of the revenue of the whole State, the bhandari of the Company is necessary, not only for the security of the manager, but to preserve our own interest.

In my letter of the 26th January, having submitted a translate of the order of the Raja to Babaji Appaji, which directed him under the Company's bhandari to proceed on his present undertaking, although the approval, which this proceeding has already received, may be considered to have sanctioned the extension of the Company's guarantee, and Babaji conceives that he is acting under that security, yet I am induced respectfully to request the express sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to that document.

Translate of the sanad of Anandrao Gaikwad to Samal Bhakti Parekh.

Sanad The mamlat of the pargana of Baroda for the present year has been taken from Samal Bechar and given to you. Preserve the tranquillity and peace of the mahal, making good the pecuniary dues of the sarkar, agreeable to the articles of agreement entered into; and conduct the duties of the sarkar with credit and integrity. To the further insurance of those obligations, the guarantee of the Hon'ble Company is given.

Translation of a memorandum from the sarkar of the Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad to Hari Bhakti Parekh.

Memorandum The sarkar being pleased to confer on you the office of potdari (treasurer), the following articles are rendered thereon.

All the revenue collections of the countries and districts, etc. will be deposited with you. You will also liquidate all written orders that may be issued upon you by the sarkar, being for the purposes of the expenses of the State.

In regard to the advantages to be derived from the concerns of the office, you will be careful and explicit to render an account thereof yearly to the sarkar.

Notes to the amount of 5 lakhs of Rupees will be issued upon you, their payment you will make without demand or difficulty.

In regard to a settlement of your past concerns, as well as to the same object for the future, the same being consistent with the dictates of justice, it is guaranteed to you by the sarkar of the Hon'ble Company.

Agreeable to the nature of the foregoing 4 articles of agreement you will be pleased to conduct yourself, you will meet the aid and encouragement of the sarkar in all cases consistent with these agreements; and the further to ensure the same, is the guarantee of the Hon'ble the English Company.

Bombay minutes, 23rd December.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding letter the Resident *Approval* is to be informed of the satisfaction derived by the Governor-in-Council from the important object, which he has attained by the transaction now reported, by which the pecuniary interest of the Gaikwad Government have so essentially benefited. The Resident is to be at the same time acquainted that the Governor-in-Council entirely approves of his carrying into execution the measure he proposes for effecting a permanent reduction in the rate of interest on all future pecuniary advances to the Gaikwad Government.

Baroda, 6th January, 1817 (1817, P. D. 435)

1817

James R. Carnac to Sir Evan Nepean.

Since I had last the honour of addressing you on the subject of *Baroda finance* the reforms introduced into the Gaikwad State by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, I have adverted on several occasions to the causes which have prevented me from forwarding the usual statements for your information.

2. It may be unnecessary to recapitulate the circumstances which debarred all access to information concerning the expenditure of this Government, or to remark on the reasons that produced a toleration for a time of the conduct of the Gaikwad administration. The forbearance which has been shown will, I am hopeful, tend to make lasting those principles which His Highness Fatesing has on recent occasions shown an inclination to observe.

3. The act itself of secreting the accounts of the State afforded room to suspect that they were not framed to meet the view of impartial inquiry; and this supposition has been in some degree proved to me by the inspection which has now taken place. But though Fatesing has defeated by his late inconsistency of conduct that scrupulous control over the expenses of the Government, which might have saved some unnecessary disbursements, a reference to the explanations to the statements I shall have the honour to submit with this dispatch, will furnish a palliation in so young a Prince for many extravagancies.

4. The expenditure of greatest magnitude of recent days will *Poona mission* be found under the head of charge for the vakils at Poona to settle

the accounts between the Peshwa and the Gaikwad. The pride of His Highness Fatesing and a desire to compete with his predecessors in the magnificence and parade of his embassy, has probably led him to overlook the comparative poor condition of the Gaikwad State; and though the disbursements connected with the mission of the Shastri and Bapu Mairal during a period of six years fall very short of those sustained on the deputation of the late Raoji Appaji, I should have been disposed, if regularly aware of the expenditure, to have recommended less ostentation, except under any presumption that such a sacrifice of appearances was likely to militate against the attainment of the substantial objects of the mission. The circumstances connected with the late embassy, arising out of the very unfavourable reception given to it by the Peshwa as well as the systematic opposition of the Court to all its views, may however have called for an expenditure to give it a remote chance of success; and as a fact from which such inference may be reasonably deduced, it is known to this Government that, when Gangadhar Shastri and Bapu Mairal were directed by the Resident at Poona to negotiate independent of his mediation, the vakils, with a view of propitiating the favour of the Peshwa, raised a body of troops to act against the Pindaris, while the capital was threatened from the neighbourhood of these plunderers. Whatever may have been the motives for such considerable expense, the benefits to be derived from it were defeated by the murder of the Shastri and the discussions since attendant on that event. The Gaikwad Government has not only to lament the atrocious assassination of his accredited minister and the detention of his associates under a heavy expense to this date, but also that disbursements, very incompatible with his present financial condition, have by a singular calamity been attended with the smallest advantages.

Modikhana

There is another charge also which, on examination at the proper seasons, might have been decreased; and it consists in supplies from the modikhana establishment, from whence articles of food to the members of the Gaikwad family and for the maintenance of the household cavalry are furnished. It is probable that Fatesing has gratified many persons of his own country, who have resorted to Baroda, by entertaining them at the public expense; and if this supposition be correct, it can hardly be surprising that His Highness should have exceeded the strict limits of propriety by such a liberality. The same motives may also have led to those donations to individuals from the Deccan and allowances for marriages and funeral charges, enumerated in the statements which will be offered in the sequel. It is worthy however of consideration that the excess in the modikhana is in a large proportion to be ascribed to the comparative dearthness of grain, incident to the effects of the famine in the country.

Statistics

5. For your satisfaction, Right Hon'ble Sir, I have framed the usual comparative statements of the receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad State contrasted with each preceding year from 1812-13 upto 1815-16, my last report, dated the 31st of December 1813, having brought up these accounts and contrasted the expenditure of 1811-12 with that of 1812-13.

The first enclosure therefore exhibits a comparative statement of the receipts and disbursements of 1812-13 contrasted with those of the next year; while the two succeeding enclosures contain the statements for the following years, as usual accompanied by explanatory remarks.

7. Though accounts, of the description above adverted to, are sufficiently satisfactory to show the progression of the reforms commenced by my predecessors, in as much as they display the causes of excess or deficiency in the expenditure of the State in any one year compared with that which preceded it, yet they do not exhibit the general tendency of such excess or diminution of expense nor the relation which the disbursements or savings of such a particular year bears to the original standard expense established by the projector of the reform. Hence though every particular may be clearly known from the accounts, no general conclusion concerning the operation of the system of reform can at once be embraced.

8 To exhibit therefore the extent of the adherence to or departure from the standard first established, I have the honour to enclose statements of the yearly increase and decrease of disbursements since 1807-8 beyond the sums calculated on by Colonel Walker. The explanatory remarks, which have accompanied the figured statements enclosed in my reports since the retirement of my predecessor from his official situation, may be referred to for informing concerning the cause of increase or decrease of expenditure up to the end of the year 1813. The remarks, also adjoined to the first, second and third enclosures of this letter, may afford a knowledge of the causes of excess and deficiency in the expenditure for the last three years. But, as these papers are detached, I have deemed it proper to state in a connected and succinct form explanatory remarks on the increase and decrease of the disbursements of the Gaikwad State from the year 1807-8 to 1815-16; in other words from the commencement of the reform by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker to the last year.

9. These papers are preparatory to that which follows, and are drawn up with a view of showing the total amount of excess over the decrease of expenditure in particular departments together with contingent expenses from 1807-8 to 1815-16.

10. At first view, it might induce belief that Colonel Walker *Cause of* had overrated the receipts or underrated the disbursements of the *failure* Gaikwad State. But the reforms of my predecessor have been obstructed by events which no sagacity could have foretold or prevented.

11. The dispensation of Providence, which doomed the subjects and servants of the Gaikwad State to the miseries of famine, succeeded by a pestilence, necessarily increased the expenses of Government. No man could have foreseen the cause, nor the exact operation of its effect.

12. It was equally impossible in 1808 to know that the Pindaris would have increased to so formidable an extent as to render it

necessary for the Gaikwad State, insulated in a manner from Hindus, to take steps to maintain an additional body of sibandi to defend Gujarat against their incursions, at very heavy expenses.

13. Protracted beyond the period when my predecessor had reason to believe that the Gaikwad State might have been liberated from its encumbrances, it cannot be supposed that it was incumbent on him to speculate on the politics, which might exclude it from again possessing the farm of Ahmadabad.

14. This State however, involved before the year 1814 (the period at which Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in 1808 thought its debts would have been extinguished) by unforeseen expenses, had after that year to submit to material diminution of its resources by the policy of the Peshwa, while the disturbed condition of the country rendered it impossible to make a correspondent decrease of expense. The Hon'ble Board is aware also that before Lieutenant-Colonel Walker departed for England in 1810, he had reported it impossible for the Government to be released from debt at the period he had estimated in consequence of a large and unexpected demand having been preferred, the liquidation of which would require the operation during two years of the reformed system.

15. Thus oppressed by an expenditure which nearly equalled its realisations, it is neither surprising that the Gaikwad Government is still in debt, nor that the events whence these misfortunes have arisen should not have come under calculation. It certainly could never have been contemplated that the claims of the Peshwa on the Gaikwad, stipulated by treaty to be settled under the mediation of the Hon'ble Company, should have been a heavy expense to the Gaikwad for the maintenance of vakils at Poona.

16. The same causes which operated in preventing a foreknowledge of the events, which have thrown the Gaikwad Government so much in arrear in its pecuniary translations, also precluded the possibility of calculating on the accumulation of interest.

17. When the Government was forced to fail in "placing the revenues as they became realised in the hands of the shroffs", the burden of the accumulating interest on their loans, instead of being considerably lessened, became much heavier, and was the last, though far from the least, misfortune which has contributed to retard the wise reforms introduced into the Gaikwad affairs.

Present condition 18. I now beg leave to draw attention to the present condition of the Gaikwad affairs. The enclosure exhibits the encumbrances of the State at the end of 1872 (1815-16). The statement shows the increase of the revenues since 1807-8, which being deducted from the sum exhibited in the enclosure preceding it, and adding a small sum for interest and manuti, over-estimated in my report of the 11th October, 1812, leaves a balance of debts due by this Government of the sum stated in the margin {Rs. 91,19,651-2-43}. The first column of the enclosure shows the amount of the principal interest and manuti due to the several individual creditors up to the

24th of November, 1816; the aggregate amount of which, it will be seen, corresponds with the result of the last enclosure.

19. I have already reported for your information through the Chief Secretary to Government in my letter dated the 14th ultimo that I had effected a remission in the amount of interest, claimed by the shroffs, of 30 lakhs of Rupees.

20. The actual remission [Rs. 39,21,963-2-54] however has much exceeded the abovementioned sum and forms an extraordinary feature in the transactions of the Gaikwad Government.

21. The necessity for a scrupulous examination into the accounts and condition of this State, was early notified to the Native Agent at this Darbar, whose familiarity with methods of native accounts rendered him peculiarly qualified for the duty. By the laborious exertions of Dhakji Dadaji, unaided, except by my own endeavours, the amount exhibited in the next column has been formally renounced by the shroffs in the proportions therein specified.

22. By a reference to the reports of my predecessor, Government will perceive that remissions are customary on the settlement of accounts with the shroffs, though the sums formerly relinquished have not averaged the amount now reported. The consent of the creditors of the State to the present abatement was avowedly attributed to their consideration of the condition of the Gaikwad, but the excellent management of the native agent, in showing that the principals of these demands have in some cases been trebly repaid, had doubtless considerable influence. It was also apparent that the shroffs did not desire an examination into their accounts, and were immediately satisfied and most readily consented to the abatement by a suggestion that the whole amount of their debts should be forthwith liquidated by the Gaikwad. Whatever may have been the real cause for the entire success of these important exertions, whether arising from a reluctance on the part of the shroffs to scrutiny into their accounts, or the advantage of full and immediate payment of their claims, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be gratified in learning that the creditors of the State under the Company's bhandari, having assembled at the Darbar, there expressed to His Highness Fatesing and to myself their voluntary accession to the abatement. The arrangement for paying off the debts of course requires a loan to be raised, commensurate to the claim; and the improved terms upon which money will hereafter be advanced, was noticed in the sequel of my letter of the 14th December.

23. The third column of the enclosure under inspection exhibits the state after the deductions by remissions, and that their total amount is the sum of Rupees 5,497,690-3-84.

24. It now becomes necessary to explain the mode and to state the period when this debt may be cleared off. The first document, which I respectfully beg leave to submit to your consideration on this part of the subject, is a statement, showing the expected receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad State for the current year. This and

the succeeding statement require no remark. They form the date on which is founded the conclusion drawn in the next enclosure.

25. The examination of the document will, I hope, be found very satisfactory. To the amount of the whole debt is added the sum expended in presents to the shroffs, [Rs. 1,23,000] as is customary on occasions of remissions in their claims, making altogether a sum to be cleared off, of Rupees 56,20,690-3-84. The varats on the revenues of the current year and for the last year being deducted, the net balance of debt at the end of 1873 will amount to the sum noted in the margin [Rs. 9,39,183-1-84]; but, as the military establishment continues to be paid, as explained in my former reports, a new loan principally on their account of 24,24,775-2-50 Rupees must be raised. This loan and the interest accumulating on all the loans at the end of year 1873 will occasion the debt to amount at the beginning of 1874 as per margin [Rs. 39,13,781-3-84]. For this amount varats will be granted on the revenues of 1874, and a new loan [will] open, which, I am hopeful, should no unforeseen accidents intervene, cannot exceed that of the present year, and which consequently must be liquidated, and the Gaikwad possesses a surplus from the revenues of 1875 (1818-19).

You will perceive, Right Hon'ble Sir, from the next enclosure, to which I have the honour to draw your attention, that the expectations, I held out in my letter dated the 14th December, have been fully realised. Instead of having saved to the Government by an increase of its resources and reductions of its expenditure only 10 lakhs of Rupees, twelve lakhs and 40,000 Rupees more than last year will be at the disposal of the State. In framing the enclosures, which yield the grounds for calculating on the emancipation of the State from all its encumbrances, I have made my estimate on the reduced scale of expense and the increased resources thus effected.

27. Thus it will be obvious that by the reduction, which has been effected in the interest of the debts of this Government, the large accumulation of encumbrances, into which from unavoidable causes it had fallen, is in a great degree counterbalanced, and that there is a fair prospect, notwithstanding the famine, the loss of Ahmadabad, the disadvantages incident to the Peshwa's policy and other causes already specified, that this State will still be liberated from its pecuniary embarrassments two years after the period estimated by the projector of the reform before his departure from this country in the year 1810.

28. Before I conclude this dispatch, it gives me pleasure to bear my testimony to the merits of Dhakji Dadaji. The utility of his services to this Government cannot be exemplified in a more palpable or creditable form than in the immense remission obtained by the aid of his exertions in the debts of the State; but his zeal and attention to the general interests of the Gaikwad, manifested in the increased revenue produced this year, and the respectability of his character have at length gained him a consideration which cannot fail to be very conducive to the interests of the Gaikwad Government.

His Highness Fatesing has expressed to Dhakji Dadaji his high sense of the value of his services and his intention of taking an early opportunity of making him a reward for the important savings which his agency has effected to the state.

Minutes, 1st March.

In acknowledging the receipt of the preceding dispatch on the financial affairs of the Gaikwad Government with various documents accompanying it, the Secretary is to express to Captain Carnac the satisfaction derived by the Governor-in-Council from the favourable report which he has submitted of their present state and of the assistance afforded by the native agent on the occasions which he has noticed. *Approval*

Ordered that the subject of the preceding communications be brought to the notice of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and copies be transmitted to the Supreme Government for His Lordship's information.

No. 1. General statement of the Gaikwad debts with and without the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company exhibiting the manner and the periods of the liquidation.

Balance due to the potdar and other shroffs on the 5th of Margasirch Sudh 1873, or 24th November, 1816	Rs. 54,97,690 3 84
Presents to the shroffs and gumasthas on account of remission of interest, viz.	
Shroffs Rs. 75,000 0 0	
Gumasthas „ 48,000 0 0	Rs. 1,23,000 0 00
	„ 56,20,690 3 84
Deduct varats to be granted in liquidation of the above in 1873 ..	„ 46,89,508 2 00
	Rs. 9,31,182 1 84
Add new loan borrowed in 1873 to discharge the military establishment of 1872 and part of the current expenses of 1873 ..	„ 24,24,775 3 00
	Rs. 33,55,958 0 84
Interest and manuti	„ 5,57,223 3 00
Paid by varat in 1874. Rs. 39,13,781 3 84	

The debts of the Gaikwad Government due with and without the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company are thus cleared off in the year 1874, excepting the amount due as usual to the military establishment one year in arrear and a small loan to make up the deficiency of receipts

on account of the disbursements of 1874 (1817-18) making together with a debt incurred in 1874. ..	Rs. 17,63,494 3 34
and with the interest of one year ..	„ 3,86,792 1 18
leaving a balance to be paid by varats on revenues of 1875 (1818-19).	Rs. 21,50,287 0 51

No. 2. Statement showing the increase of the revenue of the Gaikwad State in the year 1873 (1816-17) beyond that of 1872 (1815-16) and the decrease of disbursements for the same year.

Increase of the jama or territorial revenues for the year 1873 (1816-17).	Rs. 6,01,000 0 00
Recovery of embezzlement from the kamavisadar..	Rs. 55,000 0 0 Rs. 6,56,000 0 00
Decrease in the disburse- ment for the year 1873 (1816-17), viz.	
Silahdars ..	Rs. 1,00,000 0 00
Sibandi huzur ..	„ 2,40,000 0 00
Mahal Majur	
Baroda and paraganas ..	„ 45,000 0 00
Amereli Damnagar ..	„ 45,000 0 00
Mahi Kantha ..	„ 15,800 0 00
Assamdar ..	„ 20,000 0 00
Charges reduced at Amreli Damnagar ..	„ 71,502 3 00
Darbar kharch, being a sum which the Surat athavisi annually ob- tained by recovering from the paragana, which being reduced the revenue under the head of Mahal Majoor increased ..	„ 16,600 0 00
Seven articles, karkun, a charge which de- frayed by recoveries from the paraganas, which being reduced, the amount will be an increase in re- venue under the head of jamadarkhana kassar ..	„ 30,400 0 00 „ 5,8,40,02 3 00
	<hr/> Total Rupees 12,40,002 3 00

Baroda. 20th February, 1817 (1817, P. D. 435)'

1817

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report that, in pursuance of the authority of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council conveyed by your dispatch of the 23rd of December last, His Highness Fatesing had accepted the offer made by Dhakji Dadaji to furnish the necessary loans at the reduced rate of 9 per cent. interest. *Further-savings*

2. Until this arrangement had been verbally made the soukars at this place did not come forward with any proposals, but appeared to combine to defeat the important object of a reduction in interest. At length however the House of Hari Bhakti and Mairal Narayan also offered the reduced terms. Fatesing having expressed to Dhakji Dadaji his desire that these people should be associated with him in providing the loans from the potdari establishment, an arrangement to the effect has accordingly been executed in public Darbar, and a new contract under the Company's bhandari (in lieu of the former one at the late rate of interest) has been drawn out in the name of Hari Bhakti, binding on the parties (if necessary) for five years for all advances, incident to the Government demands at Baroda.

3. The arrangement thus executed, added to that which has also been made for advances in Kathiawar, through Ratanji Kandas and Dhakji Dadaji, will, I am happy to report from the reduction of interest to 9 per cent. effect an annual saving to the Gaikwad at least of 1,25,000 Rupees instead of one lakh estimated in my dispatch dated the 14th December last.

Baroda 22nd February, 1819 (1819 P. D. 463)

1819

James R. Carnac to the Hon'ble Board.

In continuation of the subject of the Gaikwad reforms as previously reported on in my dispatch in this department, dated 6th February, 1817, I have the honour to lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a detail of the progressive success, which has attended the subsequent measures in completion of all the important objects contemplated by my predecessor, Colonel Walker. *Financial-report*

For the more clear exhibition of the detail, I have the honour to enclose a comparative statement of receipts and disbursements of the Gaikwad State for the year 1816-17 contrasted with 1815-16, the last period up to which they were forwarded in my former report.

I have also to enclose a comparative statement of the receipts and disbursements for 1817-1818, contrasted with 1816-17, which brings down the accounts to the last Margasirsh.

The statement No. 3. exhibits the difference between the estimate and the actual receipts and disbursements for 1816-17; and the statement No. 4. will show the estimated receipts and disbursements: and from its perusal the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will discover the prosperous situation that the resources of this Government will exhibit at the end of the current year, there being

then an excess, beyond the expenditure, after discharging every encumbrance, of Rupees 6,33,462-2-64.

It is eminently gratifying at this stage of prosperity in the finances of this Government to reflect on the solid advantages, acquired by our alliance with the Baroda State. The condition of its affairs was deplorable in the extreme at the time of our interference. The Government was then reduced by an Arab aristocracy and an overwhelming expenditure to a State sinking into insolvency; and the benefits of our assistance therefore are now manifest in having not only enabled it to liquidate a debt of 8,00,000 with 9 per cent. interest to the Company, but in having effected such reductions from loans, raised under our guarantee, as not only to be at this moment entirely emancipated from all encumbrances but to possess an excess, that is likely to be progressive annually, beyond its expenditure.

Its resources, supported by our influence, have proved also so flourishing as to have rendered it equal without difficulty or embarrassment to enter into, and conclude a treaty for a further subsidy and alliance, defensive and offensive, by which, in addition to the subsidiary force, one battalion of infantry and two regiments of cavalry have been obtained with a cession of landed territory to the extent of 12,60,000 Rupees, together with a contingent of 3,000 native horse, to be maintained in a scale of efficiency to act with our subsidiary force whenever employed; added to a further stipulation for engaging in case of war to bring forward the whole military resources of this Government for its active prosecution.

At the same time that I notice the extensive advantages the Gaikwad has derived from his connection with the British Government, it is requisite I should not abstain from pointing out with the most liberal feelings the fidelity and attachment he has evinced on every occasion for the British interests and the promptness with which he has brought forward every resource within his control for promoting the general objects of the late war by giving immediate effect to the whole of the stipulations of the last treaty, by the 8th article of which His Highness's claim to participate in the general conquests are recognised and established. His consequent pretensions to consideration in the distribution of territorial advantages, his resources have been so actively engaged in acquiring, have not escaped His Highness's mind, and although I have given him no reason for supposing any pretensions, he may believe himself to possess, as likely to be considered to entitle him to profit beyond that he has acquired, still I feel it necessary to mention the subject from the impression His Highness appears to entertain regarding it.

Though His Highness would appear indisposed to advance any pretensions openly on this subject, he certainly would regard any consideration, extended to his interests by the British Government, as a liberal testimony of their generosity and attention to a claim, he thinks he has acquired by the extent of the expenses his Government has incurred and {by} the resources he has contributed to the objects

of the late war; and which still continue to be most actively employed, at a very heavy charge to the Baroda Government in the province of Malwa.

The statement I have the honour to enclose will show the expenses incurred on account of the Gaikwad contingent employed in Malwa for one year and three months to have amounted to Rupees 91,14,994-2-31[?]; and this charge, it will be observed, is exclusive entirely of the Rs. 24,31,961 contributed by His Highness annually in payment of subsidiary. It is supplementary to the fixed disbursements, previously noticed in my present address; and until I am aware of the period for which its services may be required, I have no data to estimate whether it is likely to become annually chargeable, or to be regarded as temporarily employed on its present footing.

To meet immediate disbursements, and in order to defray the expenses incident to the Malwa contingent, it will be necessary to raise a loan of 30 lakhs for the ensuing year, at the end of which it will be cleared, calculating upon the same receipts and disbursements as now estimated, and leave an excess at that time of 15 lakhs of Rupees beyond the expenditure.

I have already in the several reports, that have been made on the subjects connected with these reforms, brought under the notice of Government the valuable aid I have possessed from the abilities and experiences of Dhakji Dadaji; and as nothing I can add will speak more forcibly than I have already done in favour of the advantages derived from his integrity, I can only on the present occasion reiterate his additional claims to confidence and approbation from his unabating efforts to promote every object of interest and importance to both Governments.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will, I trust, allow me to observe that the present prosperous and flourishing condition of the Gaikwad State is, independent of every other public consideration, additionally gratifying to my personal feelings from having been the medium under the control of so fully accomplishing all the plans formed under the judgment and talents of Colonel Walker; and likewise as on my success in effecting this object the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council was pleased to intimate he would rely for determining on my qualification for the highly distinguished appointment I have now the honour to hold.

Letter from the Hon'ble Board to J. R. Carnac dated Bombay 17th March, 1819.

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to *Bombay* acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 22nd of last month, *pleased* containing your report on the subject of the Gaikwad reforms, in completion of all the important objects contemplated by your predecessor, Colonel Walker.

The Governor-in-Council has derived the highest degree of satisfaction from the successful prosecution under your superintendence

Baroda Government that the force, which it is bound to maintain, is more advantageously employed for its own interest than in Malwa; and whilst the Gaikwad Government has no occasion, as appears to the Governor-in-Council, to supply its place by any augmentation of military establishment for the internal tranquillity of its territories, the permanency of its employment in an advanced position ought to be an object rather to be desired than otherwise, since it so completely protects His Highness's possessions against external attacks.

The acknowledgment, which you have made of the notable aid which you have derived from the experience and activities of Dhakji Dadaji, is very creditable to that native agent and satisfactory to the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay, 31st March, 1819 (1819 P. D. 464)

1819

Sir Evan Nepean to the Supreme Government.

We have the honour of transmitting to Your Lordship-in-Council the enclosed copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 22nd of last month, detailing the progress of the reforms in the finances of that State, forming a sequel to his report of the 6th of February, 1817. This dispatch is accompanied by a copy of our Acting Chief Secretary's reply of the 17th instant, the tenor of which, we trust, will meet Your Lordship's approbation. *Financial report*

We are persuaded Your Lordship will contemplate with feelings of satisfaction the prosperous condition to which the affairs of the Gaikwad State have been brought by the interference of the British Government. The statement of the receipts and disbursements exhibits an excess in its resources beyond the expenditure, at the close of the current year, after discharging every encumbrance, of Rupees 6,33,469-2-74; and we beg to offer to Your Lordship our congratulations on the completion of an object which cannot fail to be creditable to the conduct of the British Government towards its ally.

Baroda, 17th March, 1820 (1820 P. D. 481).

1820

J. R. Simson Secretary to Francis Warden.

The Hon'ble the Governor having found difficulty in reconciling the actual state of the Gaikwad's affairs with the views presented of them in the official documents of Government, and conceiving that this may arise from not distinctly comprehending, owing to want of practice, the form of the accounts annually forwarded by the Resident of Baroda, I am instructed to intimate his wish that His Excellency the Hon'ble the Vice President-in-Council would be pleased to direct that the whole of the Gaikwad's accounts, transmitted to Government, beginning with Colonel Walker's first report on the subject, be submitted to the Accountant General with a request that he draw out a statement showing, in distinct columns, for every year, the amount of the Gaikwad's debt at the commencement of it, of his revenue, of his disbursements, of debt discharged (distinguishing principal and interest) of new debt contracted, and amount total of debt at the termination of the year. *Financial puzzle*

of those plans of reform, which had been projected by Colonel Walker for redeeming the affairs of the Gaikwad State; which is the more creditable to your exertions, since the important object of extricating that Government from its pecuniary difficulties and embarrassments has been attained during a period of war, when the resources of His Highness have been drawn forth and applied independently of defraying the ordinary charges of the Government, with so much cordiality to the support of those measures, in which the British Government has been engaged for consolidating and promoting the general peace and security of India.

The Governor-in-Council is persuaded that the most acceptable testimonial, which he can afford to the character of your agency in realising so important a result, is the acknowledgment, which I have the honour of conveying to you, that in the completion of these reforms you have fully established your claim to that confidence which was reposed in your talents and qualifications for the office of the Resident at Baroda, when you were selected by the late Government for that important situation.

Whilst the Governor-in-Council admits, in reference to the 6th and 7th and 10th paragraphs of your letter that the fullest acknowledgments of the British Government are due to the Gaikwad for the fidelity and attachment, he has evinced for the British interests, and the promptitude with which he has co-operated in promoting the general objects of the alliance, it must at the same time be recollected that the Baroda State has fully participated in those advantages and in that security, which has resulted from the successful termination of the late contest—advantages which must have contributed in a powerful degree to enable the Government, whilst it conformed to the stipulations of the existing treaties, to prosecute those economical arrangements which have brought its finances to so prosperous a condition.

This observation equally applies to the notice that has been taken of the expenses incurred by the Gaikwad by the employment of a contingent of horse in Malwa, exclusive entirely of the sum contributed by His Highness annually in payment of subsidy.

That expense the Gaikwad must in a very considerable degree have incurred under any circumstances, even if his troops had not been employed in Malwa. It will not be denied that the security of His Highness's territory is as effectually provided for, as if they were stationed within the limits of the Gaikwad territories, nor can it be urged that the British Government does not bear more than its full share of the expenses; which is indispensable to the consolidation of those arrangements which the Supreme Government is maturing with views, not limited to its own interests, but embracing those of His Highness and the petty States on the frontiers of Gujarat, which have suffered so much from the effects of the disorganised state in which they have been unfortunately so long involved.

A just consideration to the liberal policy, by which His Lordship-in-Council is guided, will, the Governor-in-Council hopes, satisfy the

Baroda Government that the force, which it is bound to maintain, is more advantageously employed for its own interest than in Malwa; and whilst the Gaikwad Government has no occasion, as appears to the Governor-in-Council, to supply its place by any augmentation of military establishment for the internal tranquillity of its territories, the permanency of its employment in an advanced position ought to be an object rather to be desired than otherwise, since it so completely protects His Highness's possessions against external attacks.

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It is very desirable that this statement be prepared as early as practicable, and the Hon'ble the Governor is in hopes it will not require much time to accomplish.

Minutes, 27th March, 1820.

Orders Ordered that a copy of the preceding letter and the documents therein alluded to be transmitted to the Accountant General with directions to cause the statement required by the Hon'ble the Governor to be prepared with as little delay as may be practicable, but the Board apprehends a considerable period must elapse before it can be furnished.

1820 *Bombay, 18th April, 1820 (1820, P. D. 483)*

Elphinstone's minute on his proceedings at Baroda.

Financial surprise 10. As the introduction of Sayaji's direct administration depended on the security to be afforded for the payment of the debts of the State, I early found it necessary to examine the condition of the Gaikwad's affairs; and here I unexpectedly met with the principal difficulty in effecting the arrangements desired. The latest information I possessed (Captain Carnac's letter dated February 14, 1819) gave reason to expect that there would be a surplus by the end of that year, but in fact the Gaikwad is in debt to an amount exceeding a crore of Rupees, a statement of which is annexed (B). The intricate nature of the Gaikwad's accounts led me to request that those now at Bombay should be submitted to the Accountant General, and he will probably be able to account for the difference between our expectation and the reality. I shall only say that it appears to have originated partly in the receipts of the two last years having fallen short of Captain Carnac's estimate, while the disbursements exceeded it; and partly to the practice, which had long obtained, of omitting certain debts in the annual accounts of the Gaikwad Government, which that Government is nevertheless under the necessity of discharging. It became the principal object of my attention to put these debts in such a train of liquidation as should be satisfactory to the bankers, to whom we had guaranteed the payment of them; and this was peculiarly necessary, as some of the troops were 5 years, and almost all near three years in arrears; and no money could be procured from the bankers, who usually supplied it. The chief causes of this pressure were, the excess of expense and the failure of revenue during the last year, the reduction of interest from 12 per cent. to 9 per cent. which rendered it difficult to raise money, perhaps the large share taken by the minister Dhakji Dadaji in his character of banker in the financial transactions of the Government, which induced other bankers to hold back, and finally the uncertainty that prevailed by what minister and even by what Government the Gaikwad's affairs were to be hereafter conducted.

Proposed loans 11. The plan, which was the most desirable for the future, was to raise a loan at the present rate of interest, 9 per cent. to the whole amount of the debt, so that the troops might no longer be in arrear, nor the revenue anticipated, and that the expensive establishment of the potdari might be done away; but this was too obviously against

the interest of the bankers to be agreed to, even if it were certain that they could provide so large a sum as was required for this loan. The plan proposed to me by the Gaikwad therefore was to raise three distinct loans: the first one of 50,00,000 Rupees to be by an assignment on the revenue of 12 lakhs a year; the second, a distinct loan for the Kathiawar debt of 20,00,000 Rupees to be paid at the rate of 3 lakhs a year by an assignment on revenue of that province; and the third, a loan of 30 lakhs for the purpose of paying the expenses of the current year and satisfying some other demands, which loan was to be paid in full by an assignment on the revenues of next year. This last loan is called the *potdari* loan. The interest on all these loans was to be 10 Rupees 8 annas per cent., but there was to be a premium at different rates on all and other charges, as shown in the annexed paper (C). The worst part of this loan is the system of anticipation, which is here called *potdari*. The payment of the 15 lakhs towards defraying the two first loans and that of 30 [lakhs] to pay the *potdari* loan consuming almost the whole of the net revenue of the State, it is necessary every year to contract a new loan. The terms on which this has hitherto been done are shown in the annexed paper (D), by which it appears that the profits to the bankers is always $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the nominal interest, although the banker from his receiving assignments on the revenue of the next year at the moment when the advance of the money, runs little or no risk of loss. Another great defect in the plan of the present loan is that it does not provide for the pay of the greater part of the army beyond the end of last year (ending in June 1819), thus leaving those troops a year in arrears, and in reality reducing their pay by the exact amount of the discount which they are obliged to pay to the bankers who advanced the money for their subsistence, receiving assignments on their pay. Both of these abuses have however subsisted from the earliest times of the Gaikwad finance and were of necessity allowed to remain at the time of Colonel Walker's reform; and the loan just described was not assented to by the bankers without long altercation. The Gaikwad's first plan was to set aside no more than 12 lakhs for the payment of his debt, and the bankers at first insisted on 18 lakhs, but the present sum of 15 was at last agreed to and is, I think, quite as much as the Gaikwad will be able to make good. The bankers at first insisted on 12 per cent., to which Sayaji was disposed to agree; but they at length agreed to take $10\frac{1}{2}$, which is still very favourable for them. I was desirous that the Gaikwad, after satisfying me that he should be able to set aside as great an annual sum for the payment of his debt as had been used in Colonel Walker's time, should be left in the management of his country without coming to any immediate settlement with the bankers and should allow me time to consult the financial officers at Bombay on the possibility of raising a loan on better terms; but to this Sayaji showed the greatest repugnance. He considered it as rendering his emancipation uncertain, and he also stated that the terms of the present loan were more favourable than before obtained (except Dhakji's loan of 9 per cent. which was for a small sum and had failed); that the bankers had with difficulty been brought to agree to it; and that, if he should now hesitate to close with them, they would probably refuse

their aid, if ultimately required, or at least raise their demands; and that the chance of getting better terms or any terms by referring to Bombay was uncertain; and he therefore begged that I would not object to his closing with this loan. The terms in the annexed paper (G) were therefore agreed to.

12. The delay in the payment of the money advanced by Sir John Malcolm appeared so little inconvenient, especially when bankers' security and interest was offered, that I was unwilling to delay the adjustment of the loan by refusing my consent to it. The last article but one requiring Dhakji Dadaji to give up his share in the potdari was much more difficult of adjustment.

Dhakji's 13. Although this person had at first obtained the whole potdari, and afterwards admitted the banker, who was formerly potdar, as a partner, yet the name of this banker alone appears in the agreement with the Gaikwad, and Dhakji's title is founded on a separate agreement with the banker. When he was called on to give up his share, he refused, saying that he was ready to fulfil the conditions of the engagement, that the potdari was not given to him as a boon but as part of an agreement by which the Gaikwad was the principal gainer, in as much as it reduced the interest of his debt from 12 per cent. to 9, and that it was unreasonable to expect him to give up a greater and certain profit merely because it suited the convenience of the Government to remove him. He even said that he would undertake that his holding the potdari should be no obstacle to the conclusion of the loan; for that he would produce bankers who should complete it on the present terms. To this offer I thought it reasonable to accede, but Sayaji declared that he should never feel secure while Dhakji was at Baroda; and that, if he took a share in the loan or potdari, he must conduct it by a deputy. This Dhakji refused, but offered to sell his share of the potdari to some other banker. Sayaji was disposed to agree to this, but seemed more anxious to be the purchaser himself; and after a great deal of discussion 1,75,000 Rupees was settled as the price, being a sum which Sayaji and the minister said they could depend on instantly receiving from any banker to whom they should give the office. Among the arguments brought forward to induce Dhakji to give up his share was the assertion that he had not fulfilled his agreement; for, instead of paying money to bankers who had Government drafts on him, he by his influence induced them to be content with receiving credit for the amount in his books, by which means it often happened that the soldiery, whose drafts they were in the habit of discounting, were reduced to extremity from the want of funds produced by this system. Dhakji said this was entirely owing to the failure of the Government in performing its engagements, having only paid the potdars 27 lakhs, when they had advanced 42. When accused of other profits and exactions, Dhakji called for proof; and when reminded of what he owed to the Gaikwad Government, which had given him an estate of 30,000 Rupees for this very service of reducing the interest, he said that he was very grateful for the grant, and that it might be thought his services had been over-rewarded; but still the

grant was on account of the past, and was not given to make him renounce an advantage which, he submitted, was his undoubted right and not a matter of favour. He repeatedly declared that he had every wish to accommodate the Gaikwad, that he was ashamed to give so much trouble as he did, and he was ready to obey any directions that I might give him; but that he stated what he conceived to be his right, and hoped it would not be taken amiss. The following therefore are the terms concluded with Dhakji. That he is leaving Baroda and relinquishing all share in the potdari, receiving 1,75,000 Rupees in exchange; that his allowances as minister are to cease from the date of his removal; and that he is to retain his inam villages. This point being settled, no further obstacle remained to the adjustment of the loan, which was accordingly concluded with 6 of the principal bankers of Baroda; and to which I directed the Acting Resident to affix the guarantee of the British Government as far as engaging to procure the fulfilment of the terms by the Gaikwad, which, the bankers admitted, was all they conceived to be implied by the term bhandari.

11. Whilst this loan was negotiating, I took pains to satisfy myself of the Gaikwad's ability to make good his engagement. Great reductions had already been made in his establishment in the course of the last year; and after setting aside many plans of reduction, which appeared exceptionable or unlikely to be realised, the annexed estimate of receipts and expenses (E) was made out, which leaves 15,00,000 for the payment of debts, after allowing 2 lakhs contingencies. The receipts are taken at 68,50,000 Rupees, the average of 12 years, to which has been added Rs. 1,25,000, being the amount of a new imposition which was laid on in Dhakji's time as a premium to himself for becoming security for the payment of the revenues by the farmers, but which will now be carried to the Gaikwad's account. The only reductions that appear at first sight objectionable are that of a lakh and some thousand Rupees in the sibandis and that of a similar sum in the expenses of collection here termed malet muzoor. The first throws some military persons out of employment, but they are chiefly Sindhis and other foreigners; and as they were only raised during the war, they must possess the same means of subsistence as formerly. The second by throwing more of the expenses of collection on the farmers of the revenue lessens their profits and may ultimately fall on the cultivators, but the assessment is not believed to be heavy, as the Gaikwad's country is flourishing and the former abuses in the ministry were all of such a nature as to secure favourable terms to the farmers. Among the retrenchments proposed by Sayaji was that of striking off a third of the allowances of his minister, but it appeared that all the great ones were guaranteed by the British Government, and that retrenching their allowances would not pay by the saving for the odium it would occasion. The children of Gangadhar Shastri's allowance was the only one to which neither objection applied. To have retrenched from them alone could not have been reconciled with a just sense of the services and misfortunes of their father. Sayaji proposed reducing the whole expense of his fleet; and as none had been required

in former times, I did not think it necessary to object. He proposed reducing all allowances to English Gentlemen and to persons under the Resident's protection. To the first I thought it absolutely necessary towards preserving Sayaji's confidence in our disinterestedness to accede at once; but there was not one of the others who had not just claims on the State for the pension he received. The English Gentlemen were Mr. Richards, who commands a body of horse stationed at Palanpur and has a salary of 600 Rupees a month; Mr. Handly, who has a small command in Okhamandal on a salary of something less than 400 Rupees; the Surgeon to the Residency, who has 500 Rupees; and the Surgeon in Kathiawar, who has 300 both for attending the natives and for vaccinating. The two first allowances do not seem unreasonable for the duty; and the two last are so necessary that I think they ought to be made up by the British Government. The Surgeon to the Residency at all events ought to be allowed at least 300 Rupees for his civil duties, besides the allowances of a vaccinator in addition to his present allowances, even this bears no comparison with those of a Surgeon at any other political Residency in India. The Surgeon in Kathiawar ought to have at least the vaccinating allowance in addition to his military allowances. It appeared to me that the requisite reduction in the army might be made without any diminution in its numbers and with an increase in its efficiency by equalising the rates of pay and introducing such regulations as should prevent money being drawn for troops that were not actually employed. But it soon appeared that this was a difficult and delicate task. The abuses in the army are almost inherent in its nature and are not to be removed without a sort of revolution not only in the army but in the State. There are few jagirs in the Gaikwad's territory; the income of his Chiefs is almost entirely derived from their military pay and perquisites, which again are connected with the superior rates of pay to the men belonging to the greater sardars and likewise to the loose system of muster in use in this State. Even if it were desirable to introduce a system of muster, there is no way in which it can be done with any prospect of success, unless by subjecting it to the control of European officers, which would be more unpopular than any part of our former interference and most probably not effectual after all. For these reasons I have acquiesced in the plan of reduction proposed by the Gaikwad, and I think it a very great advantage that it is his own plan, and therefore that he enters on it with good will and feels his credit concerned in its success. I have not failed to impress upon His Highness in the strongest manner the necessity of a strict adherence to the plan he has now laid down, the wealth and independence to which he may raise himself by order and economy, and the absolute necessity of our again resuming our old administration of his Government if his arrangements for satisfying his creditors should entirely fail; and I forcibly pointed out to him the irksomeness and disgrace of the renewal of such a system, after he should once have been put in possession of all the powers of his own Government.

B. List of debts owing by the Gaikwad State to Hari Bhakti Parekh on account of money advanced for the expenses of the Hindu year 1875.

A. D. 1818-1819.	...	...	Rs.	13,65,275	2	87	<i>Debts</i>
For the expenses of the current year	...	..	..	10,00,300	0	00	
On account of the expedition against the Khosas	...	...	..	2,00,000	0	00	
To Ratanji Kandas	...	...	..	78,016	2	69	
To the bankers who advanced money for the payment of the troops in Malwa	...	..	..	13,08,344	2	00	
To Sir John Malcolm on the same account	...	..	..	14,00,000	0	00	
Arrears due to troops for 1874/75	..	..	..	25,40,709	2	31	
An old debt not included in the Company's guarantee	..	..	..	3,88,852	3	94	
Ratanji Manekchand on account of advances to the local Government in Kathiawar	...	...	..	11,34,054	3	75	
Ratanji Dhakji on the same account	...	..	..	2,60,542	3	75	
Arrears of the troops employed in Kathiawar for 5 years	...	...	..	5,25,000	0	00	
To bankers who advanced money for the expenses incurred in Rajpipla	...	..	..	1,08,000	0	00	
To arrears of troops employed in Rajpipla for 3 years	...	...	..	45,57,500	0	00	
Total Rupees				1,07,66,297	1	31	

C. Translation of a paper containing the terms proposed by the bankers with the answer returned by the Gaikwad Government.

1st. Parekhs (the bankers) agree to make a loan of 50 lakhs *Terms of* provided they receive 15 lakhs of varats (assignments on the revenue) *Loan* annually.

The sarkar agrees to give 12 lakhs annually.

2nd. To make a loan of 30 lakhs, its discharge to be arranged annually; and what shall remain to be carried to account in the next year's loan.

The sarkar agrees.

3rd. The interest to be at 14 annas and no abatement to be made.

The sarkar agrees to give and take 14 annas respectively.

4th. Manuti (premium) on the loan for 50 lakhs to be at 3 per cent. and on the 30 lakhs at 2 Rupees annually and discount on all payments.

The sarkar agrees.

5th. The potdari (discount on all payment) at 2½ per cent. to be equally divided (between the Government and bankers)

The sarkar agrees.

6th. The chittis (drafts) of the sarkar to be paid after one month's sight according to custom.

The sarkar agrees.

7th. sarpao (an honorary dress) to the seth and gumasthas to be given.

According to custom.

8th. The loan being made, beyond it, no chittis (drafts) to be given.

The sarkar say from 2,50,000 to 3,00,000 Rs. beyond, must be allowed.

9th. Silahdars' loan not to be made separately.

The sarkar agrees.

10th. The arrears of poldars to be discharged from the present loan to be paid by varats; what is recovered to be deducted.

The sarkar say they have given varats (assignments in the revenue); and deducting which, a discharge of the rest with interest will take place.

11th. What is owing to Sir John Malcolm Saheb to be paid in one year.

The sarkar agree; and the interest, which may be settled by Sir John Malcolm, to be given.

12th. The debts due in this bhandari are to be paid with interest from the present loan.

The sarkar will give the principal but no interest.

13th. What is due on account of the Malwa poldari and on the Baroda poldari to be discharged; and Bhechardas and Dhakji Dadaji, who have a partnership agreement, and the one which is written Ratanji Kandas for Kathiawar, to be given up.

The sarkar says that an arrangement will be made conformably to justice.

14th. To the foregoing articles the Company's bhandari to be affixed.

The sarkar agree to procure it.

Note. This paper was furnished me by the Resident at Baroda. It appears to have been made hastily, perhaps by a native, in consequence of the hurry of my departure. The agreements actually signed will be transmitted in due course by the Resident. In the meantime this paper shows the terms. [Signed: Elphinstone].

D. Translation of the poldari agreement with Hari Bhakti, dated 1815.

Agreement To you is given by this Government the business of the poldari from the year 1873 to the year 1878, i.e. for 5 years. The articles for the agreement of which are as follows.

1st. The revenue of the mahals will be paid to you, and orders for defraying the expenses of Government will be drawn upon you, which orders must be brought to account.

2nd. The stipulation for interest and manuti is as follows. Interest for all sums, received from the revenues, is to be credited to the account of Government at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per mensem; and the same rate will be paid to you for all sums advanced by you on account of Government. For all orders of Government, paid by you, manuti (or a premium) of 2 per cent. will be allowed.

3rd. The potdari (which is to be deducted from all drafts drawn upon you) is fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., half of which is to be credited to the Government, and half to be kept by yourself.

4th. The probable amount of the money, which will be required by Government, is to be estimated, but you are not to object to [an] advance from 5 to 7 lakhs beyond the annual estimate.

5th. The interest was formerly fixed at 1 per cent. per mensem, but it is now reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., it is therefore stipulated that no further reduction shall take place during the term this agreement is binding.

The above 5 articles have been agreed to by Government, and the account is to be made up at the end of every year, and varats will be given to you in discharge of the balance, for which the Company's bhandari is given.

N.B. The Kathiawar and Malwa agreements are the same with the exception that the rate of interest for the latter is 12 instead of 9 per cent. per annum.

E. An estimate of the receipts and expenses of the year 1877.

The total revenue	...	Rs.	68,50,000	0	00	Budget
To this add	...	Rs.	1,25,000 ¹			
		..	30,000 ²			
Expense reduced mahal muzhar ³	...		..	1,05,000	0	00
		Total	..	71,10,000	0	00
From this is to be paid ⁴	...		..	15,00,000	0	00
The remainder			Rs.	56,10,000	0	00
Pagas	...	Rs.	6,41,250	1	4	
Silahdars	...	..	10,40,000			
Sibandi	...	..	7,88,476	3	4	
Mahal muzkur	...	..	6,53,000			
Khasgi expenses of Sayajirao	...	..	50,000			
Takhatabai and widows	...	..	41,300			
Fatesingrao's family	...	..	27,155			
On account of the expense of the ladies of the family	..		3,76,218			

¹ This is a new sum levied by Dhakji [Note in the Diary added by Elphinstone].

² I think this is an addition expected this year [Note added in the Diary by Elphinstone].

³ This is a saving of the expenses of collection by which the net revenue is increased.

⁴ This is the sum set aside for the reduction of the debt.

Modikhana	...	...	4,50,000
Jamdharkhana	...	...	1,25,000
Oonthkharch	...	...	5,000
Topkhana	...	...	63,000
Gunjkhana	...	...	27,000
Malharrao Gaikwad	...	...	34,000
Kanhojirao	...	...	24,000
Filkhana	...	...	10,000
Faraskhana	...	...	5,000
Imaratkharch	...	...	50,000
Gardens	...	...	7,000
Annachhatra	...	...	36,000
Dharmada	...	...	50,000
Mehmankharch	...	...	10,000
Dumaligaon	...	...	3,98,000
Kotkharch	...	...	1,08,000
Murarrao	...	...	9,000
Kirkulkharch	...	...	4,58,000
[2,58,000 & 2,00,000 for marriages & deaths etc.]			
Poona charges	...	Rs.	4,000
Swarikharch, Malwa babat	...	..	75,000
Khosas	...	...	50,000
Total Rupees			56,10,000

N. B.—I regret extremely the imperfection of these papers furnished in great haste by the Acting Resident. I recommend that that Gentleman should be called on for the enclosures B.C.D. and E. in the original Marathi together with accurate translations. [Signed: Elphinstone].

No. 6 ELPHINSTONE'S SETTLEMENT

With the death of Anandrao Gaikwad on October 2, 1819, the Commission, which had been appointed to rule in his stead, was no longer required. The documents give an account of its suppression, and they show to what an extent this suppression was a complete withdrawal on the part of the British from all control in the affairs of the Gaikwad.

The determination of this question must in a great degree depend on the character of those upon whom the executive branch of the Administration will devolve, on the dissolution of the Commission by which the affairs of the Government have been controlled since the year 1810¹. Your Lordship is aware that the elevation of Sayajirao Gaikwad to the situation of his late brother was opposed by two parties, each of which had its own candidate; and it is obvious that this promising young Prince would have been deprived of his birth-right, had not his claims been supported by the British Government.

The intrigues, by which his pretensions were attempted to be supplanted, have been followed up with the same spirit of opposition to the discharge of his important functions, as may be seen by Captain Carnac's dispatch of the 19th of last month, a copy of which accompanies this, and have so entirely shaken his [Sayajirao's] confidence in the integrity and personal attachment of the leading members of the Administration that he has evinced a particular solicitude for the services of Dhakji Dadaji, the native agent of the Residency, in protecting him from the endeavours of the evil-disposed to mislead him, and in conducting the affairs of the Government, by allowing him (Sayajirao) Gaikwad to place that native in a situation of greater rank, and respectability.

The desire of Sayajirao Gaikwad of introducing Dhakji Dadaji into the administration was brought to our notice in a dispatch from the Resident of the 22nd February, forwarding a letter from His Highness to our Resident; copies of these documents are now transmitted for Your Lordship's information together with the reply addressed by our President to Sayajirao on the 17th instant.

The qualifications for business, which Sayajirao Gaikwad is said to possess, the sagacity he has manifested in discriminating the characters of those by whom he is surrounded, and the firmness with which he has counteracted those intrigues which have been actively employed to thwart him in the exercise of his authority, would incline us to believe that he is eminently qualified for the efficient discharge of the duties of the high and important station, which he is destined to fill, if no obstacle opposed his immediate assumption of the power and influence of the sovereign.

It could have been desirable on general principles that, since the time has now arrived when the resources of the Gaikwad State have ^{Delay advised} been placed on a durable basis of prosperity, that our interference in the details of the government, which its perilous situation suggested on the formation of the alliance, should no longer be exercised; and we should have had no hesitation in offering a decided opinion to Your Lordship on the policy and expediency of the measure, if other considerations of importance, arising out of the recent elevation of that young Prince to the chief executive control in the Government, did not press upon our conviction the prudence of a delay in its adoption.

¹ Since 1806. See The Gaikwad of Baroda Vol. VII, p. 2. 34.

The consolidation of the power of our ally has been the leading principle of the policy, we have adopted towards the Baroda State, the beneficial results of which are decisively exemplified in the documents submitted in the dispatch. With a Prince, more matured in years and experience than Sayajirao, we should have considered it advisable to leave him in the exercise of his authority, independent of British assistance; but, when we advert to the disadvantages under which His Highness labours in those respects, and to the powerful and systematic opposition brought forward to effect his exclusion from the government, and which subsequent to his succession has been exerted to embarrass his administration, if not with views of a more daring character, it appears to us that the avowal of our intention to withdraw from all control in the internal affairs of the government would in the present moment be attended with consequences which would soon undermine the structure, which has been reared with so much labour and anxiety.

The future value of the alliance with the Baroda State must be allowed to be intimately connected with the character of Sayajirao. Its moral tendency and its political bias can not therefore but be our object of solicitude with the British Government. The formation of his character at this critical juncture cannot devolve perhaps on better hands than those which have been extended to the salvation of his government or with more benefits to the general interests of the alliance of which His Highness would seem to entertain the fullest conviction.

Deserted by those on whose integrity and allegiance he reasonably calculated, it is not probable that His Highness will receive any communication of our intentions to withdraw from his council, at a period when he stands the most in need of our support, with any other sentiments than those of regret and despondency. The effects of such a line of proceeding at this crisis appear in our judgment to be replete with hazard, not only to His Highness personally, but to the interests of his government generally.

We have reason to believe from our conversations with the Resident, who has lately proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope for the benefit of his health, that Sayajirao looks forward with confidence and anxiety for the support and advice of the British Government, and that he is fully alive to the existing necessity of supplying his own want of experience and authority by a continuance of that co-operation which has hitherto been open to him, and to which he has not failed to have recourse in periods of emergency.

Under these impressions has the reply of our President to Sayajirao's letter been dictated; and we cannot refrain from submitting to Your Lordship our decided opinion that, so long as His Highness testifies the anxious desire he now evinces for the assistance of the British Government, it should be unreservedly extended to him; nor can we resist the present opportunity, after a deliberate review of the state of parties at the Baroda Darbar, of declaring that in the unqualified support of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad we indulge a confident hope of his overcoming the obstacles raised by his interested

servants, and that he will prove himself a valuable servant to the British Government.

We shall take an early opportunity of addressing Your Lordship *Dhakji-* on the desire, which Sayajirao has expressed, of remunerating Dhakji Dadaji, for the services which he has rendered to the Gaikwad State. In the meanwhile we avail ourselves of the present occasion of stating to Your Lordship that we see no objection to the immediate gratification of His Highness's wishes of placing that native in a situation of greater rank and respectability.

The proposition of the Resident to admit the Diwanji into the administration should in our opinion be left entirely to Sayajirao. The Diwanji has yet to render an account of his administration as the sarsubah of Kathiawar, and we entertain no doubt, from the experience we have had of the characters of the official functionaries at Baroda, that a claim to no inconsiderable extent will appear against the Diwanji on the final adjustment of his accounts, in which Dhakji Dadaji is now engaged. An apprehension of the result of these investigations would probably render it the interest of Diwanji to throw the weight of his influence against the measures of the Government; and we have therefore notified to the acting Resident, Mr. Willams, our opinion that the admission of the Diwanji into the administration at the present moment would be unadvisable.

Baroda, 20th March, 1820 (1820 P. D. 481)

1820

J. B. Simson, Secretary, to Francis Warden.

I am instructed by the Hon'ble the Governor to transmit for the information of His Excellency the Hon'ble the Vice-Resident-in-Council the enclosed original dispatch from the acting Resident reporting the particulars of some late conferences with His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad. *Elphinstone's visit-*

I take the opportunity of forwarding likewise the accompanying letter with enclosure from Captain Miles, addressed to Mr. Williams, advising of further operations against the Khosas.

Letter from J. Williams to Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone dated Baroda 19th March, 1820.

I have the honour to report the substance of several personal conferences I have lately had in company with Capatin Ballantine with His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad on the present state of affairs at Baroda. *Elphinstone-welcome*

At the first interview our conversation, after the usual expressions of mutual compliments, naturally turned to the subject of your determination to visit Baroda, which was communicated in the terms mentioned in your letter.

In reply to this communication His Highness congratulated us with much apparent satisfaction on the event, which, he remarked, was a measure fraught with much public and private good. The conversation was followed up with remarking your eminent and peculiar qualifications; and His Highness expressed an ardent desire

that the etiquette of your advance should be distinguished by every mark of public and private respect. The details of the meeting were left for the future discussion; but it was at this time settled that His Highness should advance to meet you a greater distance than ever been done for anybody before.

*Advice to
Sayaji*

In the course of the conversation I earnestly impressed upon His Highness the benefits likely to arise from his availing himself of his favourable opportunity of disclosing and making known, without regard to persons of parties, his unreserved sentiments and wishes upon all points, but more particularly upon the events which had transpired since the death of his late brother Fatesing.

His Highness replied he was fully sensible of the truth of what I had advanced as to the great advantage he was about to obtain from a personal interview with you, and added that he should certainly act up to my advice, and give an unreserved and manly exposition of his real and undisguised sentiment.

At this stage of our conference His Highness, with feelings extremely worked upon, and his heart quite full of the importance of the subject, appealed to Captain Ballantine and myself in the most feeling manner as to the peculiar nature of his situation, without a friend or anyone whom he would trust, either in the private circle of his friends, or amongst his public servants (excepting he believed Sitaram Bapu); and that therefore he trusted we would act in a friendly manner towards him and always favour him with our advice, whenever he should have occasion to ask it.

*Sayaji's
professions*

His Highness laid particular stress on his inexperience in the affairs of his government, and remarked that his brother Fatesing had on the contrary some years experience in public business (and his judgment naturally improved) by frequent checks and discussions.

His Highness likewise expressed his desire that Fatesing's family should be compelled to receive the nemnuk, settled for them by Captain Carnac in conjunction with the Minister and the Native Agent.

He made many professions of his personal sense of obligation to the British Government and declared his decided inclination to maintain the strictest adherence to all his public engagements. He then referred to the occurrence of one or two unpleasant circumstances, which had given him very great uneasiness, alluding to the affair of Amaravati and the discussion respecting Takhtabai's settlement, which he thought would never have taken place, if he had formerly had the advantage, he now enjoyed, of unreserved intercourse with myself; and therefore he trusted those events would be permitted to pass into the oblivion, and be no more thought of...

Di-laji

I next informed His Highness that by my public instructions from the Bombay Government it was expected he would decide on the question of Dhakji's present situation, the provision to be granted to him in remuneration for his services, and the adopting of measures to facilitate his voluntary resignation.

Immediately upon my agitating this question His Highness asked my advice. I replied he scarcely could require it, in consequence of

the measures having entirely originated with himself, independent of which I had many reasons for wishing His Highness to act for himself; that Dhakji was his own servant, and totally unconnected with the British Government; and that I had not, as he seemed to suppose, any personal interest in his welfare; that I had acted throughout on public ground; and that, when I was led to believe it was His Highness's wish that Dhakji should be admitted into his council, I instantly consented to the measure, thinking he would derive great assistance from his experience and industry; but when I understood it to be the wish of His Highness that Dhakji should retire, I had without delay intimated the same to you [Elphinstone.] I then informed him that, in reply to the intimation before mentioned you had directed me distinctly to inform His Highness that he was to exercise his free and unbiassed judgment on the question at issue.

After this, some desultory conversation ensued, till at last I said I supposed His Highness would be willing to dismiss Dhakji with eclat, and in fact to appear properly consistent it required that he should do so, but that of course it was left entirely to His Highness's pleasure to give him $\frac{2}{3}$ rd or $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of his present allowances. His Highness, having remarked that, taking all things into consideration, he thought he should amply reward Dhakji by allowing him the villages given to him in part of his dayete, valued at 30,000, but really worth Rs. 33,000; after some further conversation, it was deemed experience to let the question lay over till your arrival.

After agreeing to this, His Highness requested me to obtain from *Tak* the Bai Takhatabai the elephants, agreed to be delivered up to the sarkar by the engagements made with him on the demise of Anandrao; and at the same time he gave vent to feelings of disappointment at the general deportment of the Bai, and requested my interference.

In consequence of His Highness's request, I sent an appropriate message to the Bai, who after some difficulty compromised the matter by giving up the elephants as desired, upon which His Highness expressed himself much gratified.

Some desultory conversation next ensued on the present system *Poti* of potdari, in the course of which His Highness reverted with much *syst* apparent concern to the disadvantages arising from it and its general expediency. I remarked that perhaps His Highness would wish to leave that topic likewise for future discussions, to which he replied he certainly was desirous of doing so; but that really the matter was so pressing, from the serious difficulties thrown into every branch of the public service, that it demanded immediate attention, and that with my concurrence he professed assembling the shroffs, with a view of raising a loan on the most favourable terms. I admitted that the prevailing embarrassment in every department of public finance was so serious as to require the earliest attention to the subject, particularly as the non-payment to all ranks of the soldiery was likely to give rise to public distrust and generate feelings of insubordination; but that taking all things into consideration I thought it would be expedient to delay

taking any measures towards remedying it till your arrival; to which His Highness finally consented.

Sayaji next expressed his gratification at the opportunity now offered him of giving vent to his wishes and the facility of conveying them, which, he said, inspired him with much confidence and upon this our conference for that night ceased.

Other The following day I again met His Highness, in company with
ferences Captain Ballantine, in his garden, but did not enter upon the discussion of any of the important subject of our first conference but after some general conversation, connected with your intended visit at Baroda, we took leave of His Highness.

The following day we again visited His Highness in the garden and conversed as follows. I commenced by acquainting His Highness that, as I concluded you had far advanced on your journey, I proposed starting for Broach the next day, and according to His Highness's wishes would leave Captain Ballantine behind.

The next day being Rang Panchami of the Holi, His Highness pressed me much to remain until 6 o'clock in the evening; to which I finally consented.

After settling this point, His Highness remarked that there was a great want of somebody to go to, and from, himself to the Residency to transact matters of ordinary business; and that he thought the properest person under all circumstances would be Raghunathrao Kakaji, and that he very much wished that person to be employed that way, without its being considered as investing him with any public office in the Administration.

To this application of His Highness I replied that I considered this circumstance might be objectionable to the British Government. In answer Sayaji said he trusted not, in as much as he was not investing him with any precise official office, but that the question might lay over till the next day.

Some general remark next passed on the subject of Dhakji Dadaji which it had been determined to leave over until your arrival, as well as the poldari arrangements, which, His Highness informed us, had that day been generally discussed that morning in Darbar but without coming to any decision.

His Highness said that he was going to call, or rather proposed calling the Diwanji from Kathiawar to Baroda. I asked him for what purpose, as I myself could see no existing cause for doing so, but that of course His Highness was at perfect liberty to act as he pleased. To this His Highness replied "No"; at the same time observing that I must admit that in the present, indeed on every occasion, he desired first to obtain my concurrence; and as there was no objection he would order a letter to be written next day in Darbar. His Highness, after some conversation regarding the gentlemen of the Residency,

Bombay, 18th April, 1820 (1820, P. D. 483)
Elphinstone's minute on his proceedings while at Baroda.

I have the honour to lay before the Board an outline of my proceedings at Baroda, which, I hope, will be found to accord with the views of the other members of the Government.

2. I recommend that a letter to the Supreme Government be drafted from this minute, and that a copy of that letter be sent to the Resident at Baroda for future reference.

3. As my first interview on business, which took place at the Residency on the day after my arrival, I intimated to Sayaji that the necessity for our retaining the management of his government in our own hands had ceased with the life of the Prince whose natural defects first occasioned it, and that the British Government was now desirous of entrusting him with the entire administration of his own affairs, provided he could satisfy it [*the British Government*] that the engagements, into which it had entered, would be strictly fulfilled. I explained that those engagements were:

4. 1st, our guarantee of the allowances of his ministers.

5. 2nd, that of his agreement with his tributaries.

6. 3rd, that of his bargains with the bankers. That the two first required no interference in the detail of his Government, that the last might also be secured without interference if he would set aside such a sum for the payment of his debts as might be deemed sufficient by his creditors, and assign such funds for the supply of it as might afford them full satisfaction. If he did this, I said nothing would be necessary on our part beyond that occasional advice, which the nature of our alliance must ever render necessary, and our interposition in such extreme cases as might threaten the ruin of the State. If he could not make this arrangement, I observed that his expenses must still be liable to the close inspection of the Resident; but that even then, the whole of the government should be in his hands, and the Resident would only control what he formerly used to administer.

7. At this and at subsequent meetings I explained to him in detail the limits of his own authority and the Resident's interference; that all foreign intercourse was to be exclusively in the hands of the British Government; that our control over his transactions with his tributaries was to be exercised up to the letter of our engagements, the degree, in which it had hitherto been exerted, having been found inadequate to secure the fulfilment of our promises; that in the internal affairs he was to govern himself; but that the Resident was to be made acquainted with the plan of finance he intended to adopt for each year, to have access to his accounts whenever he thought it necessary, and to offer his advice whenever the system was likely to be deranged. I repeatedly impressed on Sayaji that this right to advice was inherent in the British Government from the nature of the alliance, and that it never would be offered, but for his own good¹.

¹ Question: Did the right of advice, here claimed by Elphinstone, leave Sayajirao an independent ruler?

8. To conclude I endeavoured to fix on Sayaji's memory that his success in his connection with us depended: 1st, on his payment of his debts and fulfilment of our engagements; 2nd, on his being not only friendly but open and sincere in all his dealings with the British Government; and 3rd, on his abstaining from any intercourse with foreign States, which of itself would amount to a dissolution of our alliance.

9. Sayaji received my first communication of the intention of entrusting to him the full administration of his Government with great joy but without any appearance of surprise. He made repeated and solemn promises of adhering to all the rules laid down for him; said he owed his masnad and his State (its existence) to the British Government; and that he would not on any account dispense with the advice of the Resident, even if he himself should be disposed to withhold it; but he particularly requested that all representations should be made to him in private; and that all acts of his government should emanate directly from himself. On one occasion (at the next meeting after the rejection of Sitaram for minister) His Highness showed a greater degree of jealousy, was desirous that his management of his finances should be taken on trust, and that the Resident should be content with seeing the accounts once a year at the Darbar.

But on this plan being objected to, he at once recurred to that explained in the last paragraph, which accordingly is to be considered as in force henceforward. Sayaji was very anxious that I should give him a writing fixing the limits of his own and the Resident's authority; to which I willingly agreed, having always intended to take this method of securing that clear understanding by both parties, on which so much depended. A copy of that writing is annexed. (A). I had at first drawn up a longer paper, explaining the grounds of our former interference and present forbearance; but Sayaji being desirous of a more simple note of our future relations, I drew up the present.¹

Dhakji 15. The accomplishment of His Highness's plan must greatly depend on his choice of a minister, and I am sorry to say that his arrangements in this particular are not so satisfactory as might have been wished. At my first interview with Sayajirao I introduced the subject of Dhakji Dadaji and requested His Highness to inform me of his real wishes past and present in regard to that person. His Highness replied by saying that he would not enter on this subject without exposing himself to enmity, and that he must first insist on my promising that he should not suffer for any opinion he might give. He expressed his confidence and regard for Mr. Williams and his desire that he might succeed to the Residency at Baroda; and on my refusing to give any promise on that subject, he said that Dhakji possessed considerable influence with Captain Carnac and might possibly injure him in that Gentleman's estimation; that I must therefore give him a solemn promise that I would listen to no stories to

his disadvantage, but would inform him of anything that was said against him, and receive his explanations before I acted. I agreed to give this promise after premising that with a State, which should enter into plots against the British Government, it might be necessary to take decisive measures without communicating with it; but that, if he were faithful to his alliance, he might depend on it, I should never act on any information against him, until he had an opportunity of defending himself. I likewise explained to him that this apprehensions from the supposed influence of Dhakji with the Resident were quite unfounded; and after many assurance of the same nature he said that he was extremely anxious to remove that person from his service. He said that Dhakji had been of use in securing his succession and had held out great hopes to him at first, but had afterwards betrayed him; and he entered into details to show that this minister had been guilty of rapacity and fraud. He endeavoured at a subsequent meeting to explain away the word 'betrayed'; but he still said that Dhakji had paid him much attention and made him many promises, until he obtained his appointment; after which he entirely changed his conduct towards him.

16. Dhakji's own account is that Sayaji was first pleased with his exertions in resisting the claims of Balvantrao and of the adopted child of Fatesing, and for occasioning a reduction in the interest of the debt from 12 per cent. to 9; and that he was afterwards disgusted with his want of power to make Mr. Williams recede from his engagement with Takhatabai or from his determination not to consent to Sayaji's retaining the farm of Kadi in his own hands. Both Sayaji and Dhakji most explicitly deny that any influence was used by the British Resident to procure the nomination of the latter person.

17. When the Gaikwad's resolution to dismiss him was communicated to Dhakji, he first said that the Gaikwad had addressed a letter to the Resident, placing the permanence of his appointment under the guarantee of the British Government; and on my pointing out that the guarantee had never been granted, and never would have been, he said that he had given up his employment at Bombay to come hither, and that he had hoped, as guarantees were usual, that his would have been granted, that he was a British subject and depended on me for procuring him such a compensation from the Gaikwad as he was in justice entitled. The Gaikwad's proposal regarding him to Mr. Williams was that he should give up his pecuniary allowances, amounting to 70,000 Rupees, and retain his villages [amounting] to 30,000 Rupees. Before I could decide on the equitableness of this offer, it was necessary to make some inquiry into Dhakji's alleged merits and into the offences of which he was accused. Of the former it is obvious that Dhakji had no merits in supporting Sayaji, whom the British Government had from the first determined to acknowledge. His claim for obtaining a reduction of the interest, although disputed by Sayajirao, appears better founded; for it seems he certainly stood forward, and by threats of bringing money from some of our principal cities at 9 per cent. obliged the bankers to lend their money at that rate. The charges against him are unsupported by proof and are not unplausibly answered.

The first is for exacting a sum amounting to a lakh and half of Rupees a year from the farmers of the revenue for being security to the Gaikwad for their making good their payments. This, says Sayaji, was a bribe under another name and led to connivance at all sorts of abuses and malversations on the part of the farmers. To this Dhakji replies that security was always given by bankers, and that it was not unusual for the minister to have a share in it, that Gangadhar Shastri was a partner in the house of Hari Bhakti, which was one of the principal securities for farmers, and that the present minister, Vithalrao Bhao, was himself a great farmer. That at any rate his connivance could have done no harm, as he had only been minister for 5 months.

He was in the second place accused of allowing a large remission in the last year's revenue for corrupt motives. He answered that it was well known the season was unfavourable, as would appear from the collections of such of the Company's districts as produced cotton.

His irregularities as potdar, which have been described above, were next alluded to, with the addition that he took advantage of his situation to intercept money, which ought to have gone to private bankers, and applied it to objects which he ought as potdar to have met from his own funds; and on his answering that the irregularities of the potdari were owing to the want of punctual payments by the Gaikwad, Sayajirao inquired who was answerable for that, as he being Native Agent to the Residency was perfect master of the State and could manage it as he pleased. To this Dhakji replied that the failure of the crops and the extra expenses were contingencies beyond his control.

The last charge against him is for a bribe from the bankers at some former period, and of this Sayaji desired to postpone bringing his proofs till he should be more prepared.

Assuming Dhakji's innocence, as nothing was proved to the contrary, it appeared to me sufficient to allow him for life the 30,000 Rs., which the Gaikwad proposed to give him in perpetuity; but, as it appeared that this was no part of his allowances, but a grant of the kind, so well known under the name of *inam*, which is universally considered equal to private property and never confiscated but for crimes against the State, I could not but withdraw my recommendation that it should be interfered with, and it is now settled that Dhakji is to keep it, but with no guarantee on the part of the British Government.

Sitaram
(180) 182d 113. Dhakji's removal being effected the next question was: who was to be his successor? I reminded Sayaji at my first meeting of the objections of the British Government to Sitaram, but nevertheless at a subsequent interview he proposed that very individual, supporting his recommendation with allusions to the magnanimity of forgiving his offences and the high claims of his adoptive father on the gratitude of the Gaikwad Government. I renewed my objections on the grounds of the original incapacity which procured Sitaram's removal, but still more on that of his intrigues with foreign Powers and his acts against the alliance. I reminded His Highness that he

Poona to interest the Peshwa in his own behalf to induce that Prince to embarrass the existing Administration, at first by refusing to come to any compromise about the Gaikwad's debts, latterly by setting up a pretender to the masnad of Baroda, and preferring a claim to jurisdiction and sovereignty over the Gaikwad family. These intrigues, I said, led to the murder of the Shastri and ultimately to the downfall of the Peshwa. I said that, if Sitaram were not directly implicated in the first of these transactions, he certainly was the original occasion of it, and concluded, whatever might have been his former character, he had now been too long placed in opposition to the British Government and connected with its enemies for us to have the least confidence in him. Sayaji did not deny any of the facts I had brought forward, but still urged that Sitaram should be taken on trial, as he was now improved by age and corrected by misfortune; but on my declaring that his Government was in no state for experiments, that with every talent in his minister and every confidence on the part of the British Government, he would find his task difficult, and without those aids impracticable, he agreed to give up Sitaram and requested Mr. William and me to suggest some other *Vithalrao Bhau* person. This was of course refused, although supported by repeated entreaties on the part of Sayaji, during which that Prince said that there were only four persons, who had claims to the ministry: Sitaram whom we rejected, the Shastri's children who were infants. Dhakji who was just dismissed, and Vithalrao Bhau, Dhakji's nominal associate, in whom he had no confidence and whom (he might have added) he had accused to Mr. Williams of plotting to set aside his title to the masnad. At length he proposed Vithalrao Bhau, the subahdar of Kathiawar; in which I readily concurred, both as he is the fittest man in the State for such an appointment, and as his removal from Kathiawar would take away one of the principal obstacles to the sort of settlement we desired in that province. Sayaji afterwards mentioned his design of retaining the present minister as colleague to the Diwanji as he had been to Dhakji, by which means he should keep both in order, and would be able to give his confidence to whichever best deserved it. In this also I concurred. The Diwanji's allowances and the title of his office were discussed; and it was agreed that he was to be invested and presented to me next day, Sayaji at the same time exacting a promise that we were not to remove him without a fault, and that, if he gave us ground of offence, he was not to be removed directly but by an application to Sayaji. In granting this promise, as on other occasions, I said that the British Government would of course always expect him to attend to its objections to any obnoxious minister, but I added that, except Sitaram, I could think of no man in his dominions to whom I should object. Next day was the occasion when he discovered so much jealousy, as before noticed. Some conversation had taken place, before he in a very indirect and uncandid manner, disclosed his intention of retaining Vithalrao Bhau, attempting to make it appear that this was the arrangement which he had from the first proposed. I agreed to the change, as Vithalrao is in himself really unexceptionable, but I stated to Sayaji that his naming a person, in whom he had no confidence,

ugh Govindrao Banduji, but he solemnly protested that he had so at the pressing solicitation of that Prince who had invited duji from his retreat in Salsette with fair offers of procuring the oration of Sitaram to power; and he declared that his communication with the Peshwa never had any other object than this restoration. I recapitulated the effects of Banduji's intrigues terminating the murder of the Shastri and the downfall of the Peshwa; and I observed that, although I acquitted him of direct concern in the serious part of those transactions, I could not hold him exempt from serious blame for the part which he avowed, or from suspicion of share in the further intrigues of his acknowledged wakil for the purpose of obstructing the Gaikwad's negotiations and shaking his alliance with the Company. I ended by saying that the British Government had no wish to notice this conduct any further, and I could not have mentioned it now but to explain the reasons, for which I never could have sufficient confidence in him to agree to his being minister.

21. It was to be expected that the Gaikwad would be reluctant *Kathiawar* to agree to the plan that we thought requisite for protecting his frontiers from undue exaction; but all that I learned at Baroda, strengthened my conviction of the necessity of such an arrangement.

22. There seems to be but one opinion among all the gentlemen who have had opportunities of judging on the alteration in the state of Kathiawar since our troops first entered that province. All agree that it has declined from a state of high prosperity to one of extreme misery, that the spirit of the people is entirely broken, and that they are no longer capable of defending themselves against the Khosas and other invaders whom they formerly were always able to repel. This unfortunate change is no doubt chiefly to be ascribed to the famine and pestilence which raged in Kathiawar about 1813. The exactions of Babaji in the 3 years preceding Colonel Walker's settlements must also have sown the seeds of the decline of the province; but it seems also to be the general opinion that the encroachments and extortions of the Gaikwad officers since the settlement have contributed their share to the ruin of Kathiawar. These exactions appear to have been made under pretence of interest on the arrears of tribute and of presents and fees to the officers employed; and the encroachments, which are represented (by Captain Barnwall in particular) as still more injurious, are stated by him to have been effected by introducing a creature of the Diwanji (the Gaikwad's commander) into the office of minister to each of the Chiefs. By this plan some hopes of relief from pressing demands of tribute were held out to them; but in the end the Diwanji, or his dependants, and the new minister preyed upon the zamindars at their own discretion. If it were desirable to restore things to their ancient footing (which seems more than doubtful in the present state of the surrounding country), it is now impracticable; and there remains no alternative but to bestow effectually on our part that protection which the zamindars are no longer capable of affording to themselves. In Mahi Kantha the case was in many respects different. Our guarantee, *Mahi Kantha* though promised by the Assistant deputed to that district in 1811.

was not confirmed till very lately; and as it was only binding for a period of 10 years, we had the choice of receding from it, if we thought proper. It however appeared to me much more desirable to render it perpetual. As long as the Gaikwad kept a force in Mahi Kantha, the country was in a state of constant irritation, and our neighbouring districts suffered from the depredations of rebels and outlaws. Since the force was withdrawn, in consequence of Mr. Williams arranging that the tribute should be paid at Baroda, the country has been in comparative tranquillity, and the Gaikwad's tribute is likely to be realised without either expense or difficulty. The position of Mahi Kantha which stretches along our frontier for an extent of near 100 miles, renders its tranquillity an object of great interest to us; and as we are already bound to assist the Gaikwad against rebellious tributaries, it is desirable that we should have the means of preventing any of them from being driven into rebellion.

*Collection
of tribute*

23. I therefore proposed to Sayajirao that we should collect his tribute both in Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha, and that he should engage to have no concern with the tributaries, unless we should call for his aid. Allowances are made by these agreements for defalcations in the revenue from natural causes and for expenses incurred in reducing refractory zamindars. I did not think it worthwhile to insert any stipulation for the payment of the ordinary expense of management, because it had hitherto cost nothing, and because such a condition would have secured the Gaikwad's rejection of the proposal, which was already not improbable. His objections were that the transfer of the exercise of this part of his rights to the Company lessened his importance and even occasioned a risk of ultimately losing him the rights themselves. The last indeed appears to be the real cause of his repugnance, as he probably entertains fears that the British Government may wish to profit by the transactions with the tributaries, from which they wish to exclude him. I endeavoured to facilitate the attainment of His Highness's consent by pointing out the saving that would accrue from withdrawing his army out of Kathiawar; but I found this was really among the obstacles to my success; for Sayaji had been persuaded by those who were gainers by that expenditure to consider it as of importance to his consequence; and he would only agree to abstain from sending troops into the lands of the zamindars on condition that he should be allowed to keep up both them and his civil establishment within his own immediate possessions in the peninsula of Kathiawar. To this I agreed, because it did not affect the object of protecting the tributaries, and because I thought the Gaikwad would of himself discontinue the establishment which he found it an useless expense, neither tending to keep up his power over the zamindars, nor required to check any plan on our part of diminishing his influence. The plan will hereafter be for the zamindars to pay their tribute at Amreli and Baroda without any further intercourse with the Gaikwad Government. In minor cases of failure, we may, if we please, employ the Gaikwad troops to enforce payment (though I should not think such a measure desirable), and in important cases, when our troops may act against them, we may levy the extra expense from the refractory tributary himself.

An Assistant of the Baroda Residency may be employed to superintend these arrangements, and no officer can have greater experience in this duty than Captain Ballantine, who is already employed in this manner in Kathiawar. I am not however of opinion that any additional salary, which that officer may be entitled to, should be granted at the Gaikwad's expense. Such a demand, however just, would always appear unreasonable to His Highness, and in this case in particular when the employment of a European officer, rather than a native, is in opposition to his own declared sentiments. A translation of a writing given to me by the Gaikwad fixing his future relation to the tributaries in Kathiawar, and Mahi Kantha accompanies this minute. (F). The Resident at Baroda should be called on for a paper of minor demands relating to Kathiawar, which the Gaikwad presented with my answers. This paper being only furnished on the day I left Baroda, I could not obtain a translation.

24. Before I conclude, it is proper that I should say something *Review* of the effects of our past measures on the Gaikwad's country and of the prospects held out by the present.

25. There can be no doubt that the effect of our connection with *Past benefits* the Gaikwad has hitherto been extremely favourable. Our interference must have caused much annoyance and the rule of our Native Agent much more; but these were compensated even to the Court by their deliverance from the dominion of the Arabs, by the order introduced into their finances,¹ and by the safety and tranquillity of their capital and country. Except in Kathiawar, the people gained still more by the absence of all violence either foreign or domestic, and from the check imposed by our Resident on the tyranny of the officers of the Gaikwad Government.

It is not to be expected that things will go on quite as well here- *Future condition* after; and in points where we are immediately concerned, the transfer of direct authority from our own hands to those of others will doubtless be most felt; but judging from the present state of things in Gujarat and from the character of Sayaji (who considering his total inexperience is remarkably far from want of talents or of application to business), I should hope that his administration will not be inferior to that of most Indian Princes. In respect to fidelity to his alliance he has at present neither motive nor inclination to take any step hostile to the British Government; and it is to be expected that his release from all vexatious interference and the marked line drawn between him and the British authorities will prevent any of those misunderstandings in which a disposition to such conduct is most likely to originate. Much will depend on Sayaji's advisers, and much on the talents and temper of the Resident. Every man connected with the Residency must lose some portion of power or consequence by our retiring from the administration of the Gaikwad Government, and everyone will be ready to misrepresent the Gaikwad and to foment disputes between him and the Resident. On the other hand, Sayajirao, though at present more open and more tractable than is usual with

1 An indebtedness amounting to a crore of Rupees!

independent Native Princes, is not unlikely to give offence hereafter by his jealousy of his authority; and he is not above the practice of evasion and double dealing, which tends more than anything else to increase every misunderstanding. It will therefore require considerable effort on the part of the Resident to avoid over-interfering and irritation on the one hand and, on the other, entire neglect of the Gaikwad's proceedings, which in the end would be as injurious as the opposite error.

Native Agent 26. I retain my opinion as to the necessity of the Resident being provided with a Native Agent, whose salary should be on a liberal scale; but I am more than ever impressed with the necessity of his managing all business of importance by direct intercourse with the Gaikwad, and excluding his agent from everything like political ascendancy at the Darbar. For this purpose I have requested Mr. Williams to conduct all the business for such a period at least as may be necessary to give him a complete and intimate knowledge of all details and may show the people about the Darbar that even in [details] he is capable of understanding any complaint, and consequently is entirely above the control of the Native Agent. Whoever is appointed to this last office, should be named by the Resident without reference, and should only be known to Government by his pay being charged with the rest of the Resident's establishment.¹

Ghasdana 34. The Gaikwad presented me with a paper containing several demands of his Government against the Company, which I promised should be investigated. The principal was the claim to ghasdana, both in Kathiawar and in our possessions in Gujarat. This he said was an ancient source of revenue which had fallen to the Gaikwad's share in the partition of Gujarat. He said that it was the part due from Kathiawar only, which was renounced by a treaty with the Peshwa; and even that, he said, had regularly been collected notwithstanding the treaty for the last 50 years. I answered him that, if he could prove that, he should receive his due, and that he might depend on it all his claims would be treated with strict justice.

35. Sayaji repeatedly entreated me in the most earnest terms to grant a provision in his native country to his brother-in-law, a sardar named Dhaibar, who has lost his jagir in the Deccan. This wish I promised to consider.

36. I cannot conclude without recording my approbation of the zealous and able assistance received from Mr. Williams in all my transactions at Baroda. Mr. Williams has been so fortunate as to gain Sayaji's confidence; and as he takes a liberal and correct view of the relation between that Prince and the Company, I hope that, as far as depends on him, the new arrangements will go on well. I also received much assistance from Captain Ballantine and from Captain Barnwall on the subject of Kathiawar and from Captain Reynolds of the Commissariat in arranging the Gaikwad's accounts.

P. S. When I was about to leave Baroda, I received from Sayaji 4 charges, of which a translation is annexed (H), against Dhakji,

¹ For paragraphs 27 to 33, see Section *Family Dissensions*, under date April 18, 1820.

which I left to Mr. Williams to examine. On my return I found Dhakji admitted the charges, and justified his acting as he did by the consent of Government at the time of his appointment. I told him that the expression, which he quoted, gave no such authority, that his profits had been enormous, that I doubted the legality of his taking money while Native Agent, and that, if it were illegal, he must expect to refund. Mr. Williams will report on this subject in detail.

I found on my return that the British guards had been withdrawn from the town and palace, and I directed those in the fort of Kadi to be likewise withdrawn as soon as I found there was no military object in retaining them.

At the Gaikwad's request I directed Mr. Williams to issue a short proclamation announcing His Highness's having entered on the administration of his own Government, a copy of the draft is annexed.

A. Substance of a letter from the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad, dated 3rd April, 1820.

Since my arrival at Baroda we have had many interviews at which, besides increasing the former friendship by personal intercourse, we have had various conferences regarding the manner in which you are to be vested with the administration of your own government. For the better remembering of the points settled, I now commit to writing.

Settlement

All foreign affairs are to remain as hitherto under the exclusive management of the British Government.

With regard to internal affairs Your Highness is to be unrestrained, provided you fulfil your engagements to the bankers, of which the British Government is guarantee. The Resident is however to be made acquainted with the plan of finance which Your Highness shall determine on at the commencement of each year. He is to have access to the accounts, whenever he requires it, and is to be consulted before any new expenses of magnitude are incurred.

The guarantees of the British Government to ministers and other individuals must be scrupulously observed.

Your Highness to choose your own minister, but to consult the British Government before you appoint him.

The identity of interests of the two States will render it necessary for the British Government to offer its advice whenever any emergency occurs, but it will not interpose in ordinary details, nor will its Native Agent take a share as formerly in the Gaikwad Government.

This letter is written in the spirit of entire friendship and good will towards your State, and I look to hear henceforward of your increasing prosperity and reputation.¹

¹ For accompaniments B. to E., see Section *Financial Puzzle*, under date April 18, 1820.

Kathiawar F. Translation of a memorandum under the seal of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad.

With a view to the tranquillity of the country and to the peaceable realisation of His Highness the Gaikwad's tribute from Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha it is agreed that His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad shall send no troops into the lands of the zamindars in either of those tracts without the consent of the British Government, and shall make no demand on any zamindar or other persons of those provinces except through the medium of the British Government. The British Government engages to procure payment of the Gaikwad's tribute free of expense to His Highness, agreeably to the principles of the settlement made with the zamindars of Kathiwar and Mahi Kantha, respectively in the years 1807-8.

If any great expense be produced by the refractory conduct of the zamindars, the British Government shall be at liberty to levy that amount and no more from the zamindar resisting.

Executed on April 3rd, A.D. 1820.

G. Translation of a letter to Sayajirao Gaikwad Senakhashhel Samsher Bahadur from the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone Governor of Bombay.

Succession On the death of the late Fatesingrao Gaikwad, for the purpose of quieting the minds of his wives and family, it was agreed by Captain Carnac, Resident at Baroda, that a child should be adopted, but that the said child was to have no claim whatever to the Government; and it was agreed under guarantee of the British Government that the family should receive a provision from the Gaikwad Government; but, as they now refuse to abide by these arrangements, the guarantee promised by the Resident is hereby annulled. Dated 3rd April, 1820.

II. Charges against Dhakji.

Dhakji Dhakji received 2,75,000 Rupees from the Gaikwad as brokerage (dalali) in 1873. In the report this was accounted for by charging 2,30,000 Rupees as outstanding in Mahi Kantha and 45,000 Rs. as paid into the treasury.

2. 1,00,000 Rupees was due to the pagadars at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement. They got nothing till the settlement in 1873, when it was settled they should be content with 2,11,000 Rupees; of this Dhakji kept 1,90,000 to himself, charging 1,80,000 as paid to Fatesing's creditors, who are to this day unpaid, and 10,000 Rs. to some other account.

3. Colonel Walker fixed 8 annas a year as commission for being security for revenue (hami). Dhakji used to take arbitrarily as far as 2 per cent.; so that in 3 years, when his whole receipts should have been 25,000 Rs. a year or 75,000 Rs. in all, he took 3,00,000 Rs.

4. In 1873 Dhakji charged 2 per cent. premium (manuti) on a sum of 23,00,000 paid to bankers, although he had assignments

(varats) for the amount, and was not to pay the bankers until it was realised. He has not as yet given his partner in potdari credit for his share of this sum.

I. Sayajirao in charge.

The infirmity of the late Anandrao having rendered it necessary, *Sayajirao* to provide other means for the regulation of his country, a Commission was instituted under the direction of the British Resident, which managed all affairs during the lifetime of His late Highness.

The accession of His Highness Sayajirao, a Prince of full age and acknowledged ability, rendering this arrangement no longer necessary, the government will henceforward be conducted by His Highness in person, and all complaints and representations are henceforward to be addressed to him. Dated 7th April, 1820.

Bombay, 3rd May, 1820 (1820, P. D. 483)

1820

Francis Warden to J. Williams.

1. You are already acquainted with the principles of the *New policy* late measures at Baroda, and the enclosed copy of a dispatch (dated the 17th of January, 1820) from this Government to that of Bengal will serve as a record of those principles and of the proceedings founded on them.

2. You will henceforward abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of the Gaikwad Government, except in such cases as will hereafter be pointed out. The control hitherto exercised by the Resident and the practice of receiving complaints in all cases of abuses under the Gaikwad Government is to be discontinued, except in cases where our guarantee has been afforded to the party suffering, or where his party may be (so far) a dependant of the Government as to justify interference, even at courts where we never had enjoyed any control.

3. You will afford your advice to the Gaikwad in cases where the line of conduct, adopted by that Prince, seems likely to be attended with very serious injury to his State. But it is desirable that you should avoid interfering in comon cases of maladministration, as more will be lost by destroying the feeling in the Gaikwad that the success of the affairs depends on his own exertions than will be gained by remedies applied to partial evils.

4. On occasions where it is necessary to advise, you should be careful to give it in the least offensive manner and with perfect freedom and candour. It should be given with such privacy as to make the conduct suggested appear to originate with the Gaikwad himself; and on all occasions you should spare no pains to conciliate the confidence and goodwill of the Gaikwad as well as to uphold the character of his Administration in the eyes of his subjects.

5. It will be peculiarly incumbent on you to offer advice in cases where the finances are likely to be deranged, and the Gaikwad's power of fulfilling his engagements to the bankers impaired. To

guard against this you must frequently inspect the accounts and take measures to prevent any new expenses being incurred without your knowledge; for which purpose you must be particularly on your guard against separate accounts and clandestine terms, by which the Gaikwad may increase the disorder of his finances without appearing to depart at all from his engagements.

6. It will be necessary in the first instance to see that the money now raised is disposed of in the manner agreed on, and that the reductions lately conceded are actually carried into immediate effect. You will report the progress of those reductions. You are to take immediate measures for obtaining the security of bankers for the sum to be repaid to Sir John Malcolm according to the Gaikwad's agreement, concerting with Sir John Malcolm the most effectual means for securing the pay and regular muster of the contingent in Malwa, as promised by Sayajirao in the Governor's last interview with him.

7. You will observe and report on the progress of Sayajirao in the exercise of his present functions, his principal agents and advisers, and the general character of his government, both for intentions and ability. You are to keep the control of the tributaries, to employ Captain Ballantine on this duty, to provide that officer with instructions, and to send a copy to Government.

8. Further instructions will be sent to you regarding the Gaikwad's tributaries in Kathiawar, when Captain Barnwall's reports on those, with which he is employed, shall have been received. The tributaries in Mahi Kantha may remain on the same footing as at present, as long as they pay their tribute regularly at Baroda, and do not plunder the country. Should they be guilty of the least irregularity, prompt examples should be made by detachments of the subsidiary force.

9. When tribute is withheld, it will generally be expedient to enforce the payment by the employment of British troops rather than of the Gaikwad's. Care must be taken in all transactions with the tributaries to maintain the Gaikwad's nominal superiority and the remembrance that his rights still exist, no less than to prevent any interference by his officers contrary to the present agreement. The zamindars should pay their tribute into a treasury of the Gaikwad's, whenever it can conveniently be done.

10. You will furnish a copy and translation of the papers of demands, presented by the Gaikwad, relative to the tributaries, and of the Governor's replies.

11. A complete list of all the tributaries, who are included in the late agreement as belonging to Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha, is to be forwarded immediately. It ought to be authenticated by the Gaikwad or his Minister. To prevent future disputes great care must be taken to keep the accounts of the tribute clearly and to have the means of satisfying the Gaikwad whenever there may be a failure of the tribute.

12. Captain Ballantine is allowed to draw the salary of a collector being Rupees 1,333-1-3 per month, which is to be inclusive of what he receives as first Assistant at Baroda, making an addition of

Rupees 183-1-33, and to charge for his establishment and travelling expenses on honour, in which the Governor-in-Council confidently relies on that officer's observing every degree of economy.

13. You are to retain the conduct of all foreign affairs. No communications should be permitted between the Gaikwad and any foreign State, except such as may at present be kept up on occasions of mere ceremony.

14. The nominal relation between the Gaikwad and the Raja of Satara may perhaps lead to a wish to open some communication between the Courts. This should be by all means discountenanced, and the Gaikwad ought to be encouraged to assume the title of Raja and the style of an independent Prince. This however should be done with prudence, as a display of solicitude on the part of the British Government would at least lessen the Gaikwad's anxiety about titles which he would feel were within his reach. In addition to these general instructions, there are some affairs now in progress or lately concluded, on which it is desirable that the wishes of Government should be communicated to you.

15. The guarantee to Takhtabai is to be scrupulously observed, and her claims to part of the treasure, possessed by the late Anandrao, to be immediately investigated; but, while the British Government protects the Bai from wrong on the part of Sayaji, it is equally incumbent on it to discourage all attempts on the part of that lady or of her son to assume a tone of independence of the established Government.

16. The family of Fatesingrao, having rejected the condition attached to the guarantee of the British Government, when promised to them by Captain Carnac, have no longer any claim on our interference. You are however to remind the Gaikwad that the Governor-in-Council expects that he will grant the allowances originally intended to the elder Bai, to Dadaji Gurav and to any other of the family who may have agreed to accept it on the original condition before the Governor left Baroda. The renunciation by the adopted child must however be introduced into any grant that is made to them, as it was into that signed by Captain Carnac.

17. It is proper here to observe that the renunciation, alluded to, is meant to be confined to the right which might have been acquired by the adoption, and not to extend to those derived by Govindrao from his birth, the effects of the adoption on which are left entirely to the operation of the Hindu Law and are not at all effected by the present renunciation.

18. You will have received and forwarded to Government the written defence which Dhakji Dadaji promised to furnish regarding the charges of embezzlement and corruption brought against him by Sayaji. If the defence has not been given in, you will call on Dhakji for it; and if he fails to deliver it, you should report what has passed without waiting longer.

19. The removal of the guards at Baroda is approved, those at Kadi will likewise have been removed. The allowances of the officers commanding those guards to cease from the end of the month when the guards were relieved.

20. You will transmit the original and translation of the paper of claims on the British Government, presented to the Governor by Sayajirao while at Baroda. You will also be pleased to report your opinion on each, after communicating with the local officers of the Hon'ble Company's Government, to whose districts the claims refer.

21. You will report the salary you think necessary for a native agent, under the present change of circumstances.

22. The appointment of such an officer is not urgent at present, as all the details of the system will for a time require your personal attention.

23. Great temper and address will be required for a long time to guard on the one hand against the effects of the discontent of our own dependants, who lose influence by the change, and on the other against the inexperience of the Gaikwad and his probable propensity to push his newly acquired independence beyond the bounds prescribed.

24. Government however relies on your zeal and ability for obviating these difficulties, and for retaining the confidence of Sayaji, which you at present so fortunately possess.

Bombay minutes.

Orders Ordered that copies of the above recorded minutes and of the letter in consequence addressed to the Acting Resident at Baroda, be transmitted to the Supreme Government in the following letter from the Chief Secretary to Mr. Secretary Metcalfe.

Letter from Francis Warden to Metcalfe, dated Bombay, 3rd May, 1820.

*Calcutta
informed*

With reference to my dispatch dated the 17th of January last, I have now the honour to transmit to you for the purpose of being laid before His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council the enclosed copy of a minute by the Hon'ble the Governor dated 18th of last month, containing an outline of his proceedings at Baroda with its several accompaniments, and of the instructions which have been written under this date to the Acting Resident at Baroda for his guidance, in which the extent of interference, to be in future exercised in the affairs of the Gaikwad Government, is defined, and general rules laid down for conducting henceforward the whole of our relations with that Government.

THE END OF THE SERIES

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